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# ***Daily Report***

## **East Europe**

FBIS-EEU-92-188  
Monday  
28 September 1992

# Daily Report

## East Europe

FBIS-EEU-92-188

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28 September 1992

NOTICE TO READERS: An \* indicates material not disseminated in electronic form.

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### **Yugoslavia**

**Kosovo**—TANJUG reports that President Ibrahim Rugova "welcomed" the UN General Assembly decision to expel the FRY, and he noted that Yugoslavia's readmission to the United Nations "will be quite difficult because Yugoslavia will have to meet many conditions." Rugova thanked Bosnia-Herzegovina President Alija Izetbegovic for "advocating that Kosovo be recognized as having the status of a republic," and "reiterated" that Albanians "accept only that which advocates independence and neutrality for Kosovo."

### **Bosnia-Herzegovina**

Cyrus Vance and Lord Owen, cochairmen of the Conference on Yugoslavia, met with the 1st Krajina Corps command in Banja Luka. TANJUG reports that Vance and Owen were told "that an air exclusion zone over Bosnia is out of the question until peace is secured in these areas." Colonel Milutin Vukelic, deputy to the Corps commander said: "We cannot afford a situation in which we cannot protect our people by using our aviation." At the end of their visit, Vance and Owen "expressed concern because of the pressure on Muslims and Croats to leave their homes." Vance stated: "We cannot agree with the statement of Radovan Karadzic that there is no ethnic cleansing here, especially in the areas outside of Banja Luka. Before we say anything we want to definitely check some things, but my impression is that the situation is worse than we had expected."

### **Slovenia**

Foreign Minister Dimitrij Rupel discussed the refugee problem, formation of a free trade zone, and defense cooperation with Acting U.S. Secretary of State Lawrence Eagleburger during a meeting in connection with the current UN General Assembly session, Ljubljana radio reports. Rupel reported that "among all the former Yugoslav republics, Slovenia is a priority country for the United States—that is to say, the United States would like to see Slovenia become an economically successful and democratic state." He further assessed the meeting as "extremely productive and positive."

### **Romania**

Bucharest radio reports that the first projections of voting results compiled by the Romanian Public Opinion Poll Institute and the Applied Social Research Institute, Bonn, indicate "a head-to-head contest between the Democratic National Salvation Front and the Democratic Convention of Romania for the Senate and the Assembly of Deputies, while Iliescu leads clearly in the presidential race with 48 percent of the vote, while Emil Constantinescu has 33 percent, with the Romanian National Unity Party's Funar winning 10 percent."

### **Bulgaria**

BTA reports that President Zhelyu Zhelev, speaking during a radio program, said: "I categorically support the government of the Union of Democratic Forces (SDS), I do not wish to personalize the SDS government, to identify it with specific persons." Zhelev did not, however, "deny there was certain confrontation between him and the coalition." He termed it a "collision" and mentioned disputes over "control of the different intelligence and security services."

**Zhelev Admits 'Confrontation' With SDS Coalition***AU2709202292 Sofia BTA in English 1957 GMT  
27 Sep 92*

["The Situation in Bulgaria Is Stable, President Zhelev Says"—BTA headline]

[Excerpts] Sofia, September 27 (BTA)—I categorically support the government of the Union of Democratic Forces (SDS), I do not wish to personalize the SDS government, to identify it with specific persons, President Zhelyu Zhelev said today in the Sunday [27 September] 150 radio show in reply to the host's question about Dr. Zhelev's attitude to the incumbent government formed by the ruling coalition. [passage omitted]

Few minutes later Mr. Yordan Vasilev, MP [member of parliament] and SDS leader, who had been also invited to the radio show, expressed his agreement with President Zhelev by saying, "I absolutely agree with the president that the situation in the country is stable and calm, which means that the political crisis is invented thus harming Bulgaria's interests."

However, when Mr. Vasilev asked the president whether he would give his support to the incumbent cabinet headed by Mr. Filip Dimitrov and not to some undesired new cabinets, Dr. Zhelev evaded the question by terming it "tactless." He said that the government depends on the SDS parliamentary group and on parliament itself, adding that his opinion was not of much importance. In any case I am not the person who can decide the fate of the cabinet, that is why I should not be made to assume commitments in this respect, the president noted. The country needs a strong and competent government, he went on to say.

When Mr. Vasilev asked the president if it would be good for Bulgaria to replace the incumbent cabinet, which he described as competent and very good, Dr. Zhelev did not give him a direct reply but said, "I cannot tell you this now. This is a matter which requires a serious analysis, an analysis which parliament can make in the best way."

Being posed many questions, including by the SDS representatives who were taking part in the radio show broadcast live, about his relations with the ruling coalition, Dr. Zhelev did not deny there was certain confrontation between him and the coalition. However, he did not repeat the critical remarks against the government and those concerning the economic reform which he had made at a press conference held at the end of August. At that time he accused the cabinet of being at war with everybody. Now he said that there is not a real war between the SDS and the government on the one hand and him on the other. To say this would be far-fetched, he said, but it is an open secret that there is some confrontation between us and the blame does not lie with the presidential institution but with the government and some circles in the National Assembly which are trying

to usurp somebody else's powers. President Zhelev used yet another term for it, "collision," explaining that the question was about some attempts at a merger of party and state institutions—attempts that remind of Bulgaria's recent totalitarian past. In this connection Dr. Zhelev mentioned the disputes over the control of the different intelligence and security services.

In response to another question the Bulgarian president confirmed his sympathy for the Movement for Rights and Freedoms [DPS] which protects the interests of ethnic Turks in Bulgaria. He said that the DPS politicians are "good, clever and wise." Then he added that there are sensible persons in the SDS too and sooner or later they "will prevail over hardliners." Politics is impossible without compromises, he said, obviously alluding to the events of the end of last week when Mr. Stefan Savov resigned as chairman of the National Assembly after his resignation had been moved for by the DPS and a group of MP's for the opposition Bulgarian Socialist, formerly Communist, Party. The DPS had declared its intention to move for a vote of no-confidence in the prime minister but then decided to put off this political move.

Invited to comment on his constitutional powers to sign international agreements—powers which are disputed by some MP's, Dr. Zhelev said that such doubts are "unserious." He stressed that his powers in this case are provided for in the respective texts of the Constitution and that he absolutely eliminates the doubts expressed, as he put it.

Asked why he had postponed his visit to the United States where he was to attend the session of the United Nations, President Zhelev answered, "because the developments here made it necessary for me to stay."

In a brief television interview this evening Dr. Zhelev said that he is optimistic over the political life in this country and that he sees signs which show that some agreement would be reached next week.

**'Categorically' Supports Government***AU2709181292 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network  
in Bulgarian 1730 GMT 27 Sep 92*

[Text] Today on Sofia Khorizont Radio's "Nedelya 150" program, President Zhelyu Zhelev expressed his position on basic internal political issues. This is what he said about one of those issues:

[Begin recording] I repeatedly expressed my opinion about decommunization. I think that it is not very serious to talk about decommunization when merely people are changed in the old system, without touching the system itself. The system itself must be changed. Communism is a system, and unfortunately, it continues to exist—first of all, in the sphere of ownership and the economy. More than 90 percent of the property is state-owned. What can one say about decommunization and a change of the system under those circumstances?

The people who screamed the most at rallies against the old system and demanded an immediate change and decommunization are now silent. I do not detect the old enthusiasm. I support real decommunization, which will destroy the economic foundations and social structures of the existing system and obliterate the people connected with those structures.

I categorically support the government of the Union of Democratic Forces [SDS]. I do not want to personify the SDS government and identify it with any person. I think that the National Assembly must serve its full mandate. In this context I categorically oppose early elections.

Ten SDS governments could alternate within the framework of the four-year mandate. However, those will be SDS governments, formed by the SDS in accordance with its formula with a view to implementing the SDS platform. This platform is being supported by the Movement for Rights and Freedoms and, I think, by certain groups within the Bulgarian Socialist Party [BSP].

A caretaker government is formed only in emergency situations, and such cases are very precisely described in the Bulgarian Constitution. When the major parliamentary faction is unable to cope with the issue of forming the government, the other factions are entrusted with this task. If they also fail to accomplish this, according to the mechanism envisaged by the Constitution, the president could appoint a caretaker government, dissolve the parliament, and set the date for new parliamentary elections.

However, I think that we will not find ourselves in this extreme situation. In any event there are no indications of such a development in the present political scene in Bulgaria. The country is stable, and those who want to present it as destabilized simply deceive the people. [end recording]

**Dimitrov: 'War' Being Waged Against Government**  
*AU2609134692 Sofia BTA in English 2012 GMT*  
25 Sep 92

[Text] Sofia, September 25 (BTA)—“At the moment a war is being waged against the UDF [Union of Democratic Forces] with the attacks coming from different places—it seems that ‘war’ is precisely the term I should use,” Prime Minister Filip Dimitrov said in an interview for Radio Free Europe today. For almost one hour he kept answering questions concerning the latest developments in this country.

According to him, the insinuations made in the press are something everybody could swallow up. But when an insinuation is made on behalf of state institutions, it is no longer a mere insinuation, it turns into an incorrect, impermissible and unlawful attack, he said. In his opinion, the most alarming thing is that the attacks come

from the Presidency and the Movement for Rights and Freedoms, the ally of the Union of Democratic Forces—and they shouldn't.

The hints about a “Sarajevo variant” which the president made at the press conference given about two weeks ago at the Boyana Residence are ungrounded, the prime minister said. One of Bulgaria's greatest achievements was the finding of a civilized solution to the ethnic tensions accumulated at the time of the communist regime. That is why a “Sarajevo variant” in Bulgaria is out of question, Mr. F. Dimitrov underlined.

Asked if he would meet the demand for a “repair” of the cabinet and the replacement of some ministers, the prime minister said that the main attacks are not targeted against the ministers but the reform itself. The ministers who work the most vigorously for the reform are the ones most severely attacked, he said. “There is no reason to carry out repairs in the cabinet at the moment. When it is the heads of the ministers who do their work best they want to take, it is not a repair but a destruction of the cabinet that they actually want,” Mr. F. Dimitrov said.

The prime minister did not reject the idea of new general elections, but pointed out that new elections were not something Bulgaria could wish for, as this would stop the process of economic reform.

The prime minister also said that the government had asked the Constitutional Court to interpret two texts contained in the Constitution: According to the first one, the president is declared supreme commander of the Armed Forces, and according to the other one, at peacetime the Armed Forces are led and controlled by the Council of Ministers.

**SDS Council Confirms Conference Declaration**  
*AU2609173092 Sofia BTA in English 1605 GMT*  
26 Sep 92

[From BTA Sofia press review on 26 September]

[Excerpt] Sofia, September 26 (BTA)—“SDS Stands for Sensible, Fair Dialogue,” DEMOKRATSIYA, the paper of the ruling Union of Democratic Forces (SDS), sums up its information on yesterday's extraordinary closed meeting of the SDS Coordinating Council. According to Filip Dimitrov, SDS chairman and prime minister, the SDS politicians confirmed their position set out in the declaration of the SDS political conference held on September 18-19 this month. It was underlined at the meeting that Bulgaria's fate now depends on the stability of its government and parliament. Speaking on behalf of the Democratic Party, its leader Stefan Savov voiced his fears that a plot had been engineered against the democratic changes in the country which was aimed at creating chaos and destabilization, the paper informs. Last Thursday [24 September] Mr. Savov gave in his resignation as chairman of the National Assembly. His resignation had been moved for by the parliamentary faction of

the ethnic Turks' Movement for Rights and Freedoms (DPS) and MP's [members of parliament] for the opposition Socialist, formerly Communist, Party.

There was no bargaining for ministerial seats, a coalition cabinet formed in partnership with the DPS as proposed on Thursday by the United Democratic Centre (ODTs—a political force affiliated to the ruling SDS) was not discussed at all, the spokesman for the SDS Coordinating Council, Mikhail Nedelchev, told a reporter of the Socialists' DUMA paper, commenting on the meeting which was attended by Aleksey Alekseev, advisor to the president.

According to Mikhail Nedelchev, the participants in the meeting considered the political situation in the country, but did not make any decisions, and the discussion is to be continued.

Though Prime Minister F. Dimitrov told Radio Free Europe that there were no grounds for a shake-up at his cabinet, talks are under way between the DPS and some parties of the SDS coalition on the possible members of a new cabinet, KONTINENT informs. According to this paper, the ODTs, the Alternative Social Liberal Party (ASP), and the New Social Democratic Party are the forces that wish to move into the gap. DUMA, the daily of the Bulgarian Socialist Party (BSP), reminds that the ODTs, the ASP, and the Democratic Party suddenly united in refusing to support the categorical text of the political declaration passed by the political conference, according to which the new cabinet, if formed, would comprise representatives of the SDS only and would be headed by Filip Dimitrov again. [passage omitted]

#### **Budget Act Amended To Allow Foreign Debt Payment**

*AU2509152092 Sofia BTA in English 1507 GMT  
25 Sep 92*

[Text] Sofia, September 25 (BTA)—Bulgaria's parliament today amended the National Budget Act to increase the budget deficit. The 1,850 million leva (80 million dollars) increase of the deficit is to be spent in partial foreign debt service. Bulgaria will thus resume payments on its external indebtedness after Andrey Lukanov's socialist government suspended debt service in March 1990.

In January 1992 the National Assembly gave the Union of Democratic Forces (SDS) government a mandate to

hold negotiations with the creditors. The Bulgarian delegation at the talks with the Bank Advisory Committee submitted a government-approved extended financial proposal in August 1992. The proposal reckoned with the explicit demand of the creditor banks that Bulgaria start servicing the interest due on the debt to the amount of 80 million dollars. Bulgaria received a counter proposal in late August.

The financial package proposed by the Bank Advisory Committee largely overlaps with the principles worked out by the Bulgarian delegation in keeping with the negotiating mandate received from parliament. The principle of a one-time solution of the problem through debt and debt service reduction has been accepted. The commercial banks have set an explicit condition that the first effective payment should be made before the next meeting with the Bank Advisory Committee, scheduled for October 7.

During the debate in parliament, members of the Budgetary and the Legislative Committees stated that today's resolution was a step towards acceleration of the negotiations on the Bulgarian foreign debt. They expressed the hope that a final settlement of the matter could be achieved in the first quarter of 1993. Mr. Georgi Pirinski MP [member of parliament] of the Socialist Party (who served as deputy prime minister in Mr. Lukanov's cabinet) suggested that if the expected debt agreement is not reached by the end of March, the Bulgarian negotiators should update their position.

#### **Decision Called 'Great Sacrifice'**

*AU2509144492 Paris AFP in English 1416 GMT  
25 Sep 92*

[Excerpts] Sofia, Sept 25 (AFP)—Bulgaria is resuming foreign debt service as of September 15, parliament decided on Friday [25 September] by an overwhelming margin. The vote was 113 for and one against, with 10 abstentions. A moratorium on foreign debt service was declared in March 1990. [passage omitted] The Bulgarian foreign debt amounts to more than nine billion dollars owed to the commercial banks grouped in the Club of London, and two billion dollars owed to the government creditors of the Club of Paris.

Deputy Bulgarian finance minister, who heads the delegation that negotiates with the Club of London, said that the decision to resume debt service was "a great sacrifice, that risks slowing structural reform of the economy and increasing inflation". But the move, aimed at a rapprochement between Bulgaria and the club, "is indispensable", he added. [passage omitted]

**Moravcik Comments on Security Council Seat**

*LD2709203992 Prague CSTK in English 1507 GMT 27 Sep 92*

[Text] New York Sept. 27 (CSTK correspondent)—Czechoslovak Foreign Minister Jozef Moravcik told CSTK before departure for home on Saturday [26 September] that it will not be possible for both successor states to Czechoslovakia to get a seat on the U.N. Security Council.

During his week-long stay in New York, Moravcik met with several of his counterparts and addressed the 47th U.N. General Assembly on Friday.

On Saturday he was received by U.N. Secretary-General Butrus Butrus-Ghali. They discussed coordination between the United Nations and the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE).

In his speech before the U.N. General Assembly, Moravcik, currently presiding over the CSCE Foreign Ministers' Committee, proposed greater coordination between the two big international institutions in the interest of more effective settlement of international problems.

Moravcik was satisfied with his talks with his partners. He told CSTK that the partners regretted Czechoslovakia's forthcoming split, but praised the peaceful way of dividing the country.

After the split, the new states—the Czech and the Slovak Republics—will have to apply for U.N. observer status until they are granted fully-fledged membership.

The application can be lodged only after a new Constitution is adopted and after a number of other internal political steps are taken.

There are still many other technical questions that will have to be settled in connection with the split: Part of the contribution to the U.N. peacekeeping operations which is still to be paid by Czechoslovakia, the future of the Czechoslovak units in U.N. peacekeeping forces, membership fees of the new states, and others.

**Reviews Talks With U.S. Congressmen**

*LD2609103392 Prague Stanice Ceskoslovensko Radio Network in Czech 1000 GMT 23 Sep 92*

[Text] Federal Foreign Minister Jozef Moravcik has left for New York. On 25 September, he will address the UN plenary session. His agenda during the last two days in Washington has centred on talks on bilateral foreign policy with representatives of the U.S. administration and Congress. Jozef Moravcik told us the following about his meeting with the members of the House of Representatives:

[Begin recording, in Slovak] On the one hand, the congressmen were interested above all in the philosophy behind the events in Czechoslovakia, therefore our

debate was mainly informative. I, on the other hand, have tried to elicit understanding from these important U.S. politicians of what is happening in our country, what impact it has on foreign policy, and how the United States could contribute to preserve the stability of Central Europe while avoiding conflicts which would negatively affect the situation in Europe. [end recording]

**Slovakia To Modify Treaty With Germany**

*LD2709195792 Prague Stanice Ceskoslovensko Radio Network in Czech 1500 GMT 27 Sep 92*

[Excerpt] The treaty that the sovereign Slovak Republic intends to conclude with Germany after 1 January 1993 will undoubtedly be modified compared to the current treaty between Czechoslovakia and Germany, Milan Knazko, Slovak minister for international relations, said.

Knazko went on to say that the recent presentation of the treaty's ratification documents was merely academic because Czechoslovakia will become a nonexistent state very soon.

Knazko also said it was formally out of the question for the treaty in its original wording to be used by the Czech Republic. [passage omitted]

**Meciar on Treaty With Germany, Antall Speech**

*LD2709055492 Bratislava Rozhlasova Stanica Slovensko Network in Slovak 1718 GMT 26 Sep 92*

[Interview with Slovak Prime Minister Vladimir Meciar by Ivo Kuns aboard a ship on the Danube on 26 September—live or recorded]

[Excerpt] [passage omitted] [Kuns] The economy and politics are directly related, so I cannot ignore one of your statements which has piqued interest everywhere, namely the statement that the Slovak Government will draft and propose a new treaty with Germany as soon as the CSFR divides. What will be the distinguishing features of the new treaty when it is finalized?

[Meciar] The Czechoslovak-German treaty, as it was signed, has been criticized by both the Slovak and Bavarian sides. We both had our reservations, each for different reasons. Slovakia naturally is interested in establishing firm and fixed relations with its neighbors. The German Federal Republic is very significant among them, but we will draft similar treaties with other states. We therefore assume that the recently adopted Czechoslovak treaty will be superseded by a Slovak-German treaty.

In working out our relationship, we have to take into account the fact that we are not engaged in the kind of dispute which exists between the Czech Republic and Germany. We also have to consider that Slovakia will seek further access to Germany. Slovakia therefore has to ensure that its treaties contain elements which would make this possible. We also have to find ways toward

larger projects in the future which will transcend the borders of Slovakia. So far those of us in Central Europe have always been sandwiched between the Germans and the Russians.

[Kuns] How is the issue of property restitution to Carpathian Germans reflected in the treaty?

[Meciar] This issue has also been discussed. In the talks I linked the issue to the onset of talks on war damage compensation. You see, the villages burned and people killed in the war have received nothing to date. Once this issue begins to be resolved, the issue of compensation to Carpathian Germans can be reopened. The issues are not mutually independent; they are interconnected.

[Kuns] I suppose Czech Prime Minister Vaclav Klaus has been taken somewhat aback with the news on the treaty, where Slovakia has proceeded a bit further than the Czech lands.

[Meciar] We are not trying to take anybody aback. If we find complications or new elements in our relations, we will coordinate our steps with the Czech Republic. We have no intention of harming the interests of the Czech Republic. The Slovak-German treaty cannot go against Czech interests, or anybody's interest for that matter.

We have progressed further in the matter because we have had more extensive consultations. The content and fields of cooperation and our expectations for the nearest future have been made clear. Therefore the Slovak side is now ready to offer very specific proposals both for the protocol and for the preparation of obligations set out by the treaty.

[Kuns] Mr. Prime Minister, I suppose that since the Hungarian side did not send a delegation of the appropriate level to the deliberations of the third conference of Danube state leaders working group, talks on the hydro-works were not as productive as expected.

[Meciar] I do not agree with you. Above all, the Gabčíkovo-Nagymaros issue was being discussed behind the scenes. We spoke about a lot of things and explained our stance, which was perceived by all as a surprising and new one. Up to now they have only known the position of one side—Slovakia was the bad guy, and Czechoslovakia as well.

At the gala opening of the canal, [Hungarian] Prime Minister Antall delivered a very unfortunate speech. He was supposed to deliver a salutary address on the occasion of the opening of the canal on behalf of all the countries through which the Danube flows. Mr. Antall did not deliver an address on behalf of other countries. He spoke only on his own behalf and on behalf of Hungary. Of course he attacked Slovakia and Czechoslovakia for (not) completing the construction of the Gabčíkovo-Nagymaros hydroworks. He distorted the facts. My feeling was that perhaps he never read the agreement. He

threatened a worsening of the situation and a worsening of relations in this sphere and asked for international cooperation.

This was inappropriate as far as the place and subject of our deliberations were concerned. It was an indication that Slovak-Hungarian relations have become tense. It was a clear indication of a policy of aggressive nationalism which we have refused to respect and are going to refuse to respect in future.

We are interested in good relations. I think it is bad that the prime minister gave me certain assurances in Hungary and then on the first public occasion denied all our agreements and the entire content of our talks. This only reveals that the Hungarian side is not a trustworthy partner; it does not fulfill agreement obligations nor keep its word. When its representatives give their word, in reality they are putting out hot air.

[Kuns] I would only add that Mr. Antall spiced up his speech by including the problem of the recent soccer match between Ferencváros Budapest and Slovan Bratislava, which was probably rather inappropriate for the occasion.

[Meciar] To introduce this problem on the occasion of the opening of the canal is not only inappropriate but untrue. There are always interventions against people disturbing public order and the police in Slovakia intervened against people disturbing public order, not against Hungarians. The fact that many of them were of Hungarian nationality is secondary. In our view, they were the people who broke laws, disturbed public order, and acted against the interests of our state. Therefore the intervention was carried out in accordance with the law. We see this thing being politicized and used to intentionally mislead the Hungarian public to find a pretext for ideologizing and worsening our relations.

We can be sorry about it, but it is not the only pretext. We registered a flight by a Hungarian plane over our territory. It was probably engaged in intelligence-gathering on our territory. There are also other indications that the Hungarian side wants to accelerate the worsening of our relations very soon.

Though the Danube should link us, many bad things have happened on the Danube due to unreasonable policies. This policy, which I call the policy of extreme nationalism, is doomed, as are those who are responsible for it. [passage omitted]

#### **Visegrad Troika Ministers Discuss CSFR Split**

*LD2509124192 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network  
in Hungarian 1000 GMT 25 Sep 92*

[Text] According to the Hungarian, Czechoslovak, and Polish defense ministers, the splitting of Czechoslovakia will not influence the three countries' military cooperation. Correspondent Attila Kert reports on the meeting in Slovakia:

I can assure you that the fact that with the split of Czechoslovakia the armies, too, will become independent, will not cause any danger at all, said CSFR Defense Minister Imrich Andrejcek. He tried to reassure his partners by saying that the separation will take place in legal, constitutional frameworks in every aspect.

Lajos Fur asked Andrejcek to what extent we can count on the two independent republics' compliance with the valid agreements with Czechoslovakia after 1 January. The Czechoslovak minister replied that both the federal government and the various political forces want to adhere to the valid agreements. I am convinced, he added, that the Visegrad troika cooperation will be continued with four sides.

Onyszkiewicz, head of the Polish delegation, regarded the existence of what he already calls the Visegrad group as an extraordinarily significant indication. The European organizations can see that we are mature for cooperation. They can experience in the (south) that we have been able to establish a center of political stability. Eventually, the atmosphere of the plenary session that is still under way has not reflected the tension described in today's Bratislava papers.

#### **Hungary's Fur Comments on Visegrad Defense Talks**

LD2709052292 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network  
in Hungarian 0430 GMT 26 Sep 92

[Interview with Hungarian Defense Minister Lajos Fur by Attila Kert in Slovakia on 25 September following a meeting of the Visegrad group defense ministers—recorded]

[Text] [Kert] Was there any sense in these talks? Although you established in your statement that you wish to continue the cooperation of the Visegrad Three after the split of Czechoslovakia, is there any guarantee that the two independent governments will not treat this agreement as they want to?

[Fur] There is no guarantee apart from the fact, perhaps, that the governments of the two countries have said that even after the split they would consider every concluded international agreement as compulsory for them. I made a point to ask my Czechoslovak ministerial colleague here about this during the course of the talks and received a very firm answer that the agreements related to military cooperation will remain valid as well.

[Kert] How do you see the continuation of the cooperation, which is already bearing the name Visegrad Group?

[Fur] I see it, in fact, as the same as the cooperation among the three states up to now, except that there will be four members of this cooperating club. In November the chiefs of staff will sit down with the relevant experts and work out the forms, steps, and contents of concrete cooperation.

[Kert] It was said at the press briefing that the Visegrad Group would like to get closer to NATO together.

[Fur] We tried to coordinate the steps. We even sent our speeches to one another, and we want to do so in the future, too. The important thing, maybe even more important than the question of NATO, is that we also mentioned at the talks that we should act jointly in our future relations with the Western European Union. In this way we can probably assert our will, or at least our ideas, more successfully.

[Kert] In this connection, Polish President Walesa had a peculiar idea that this Visegrad foursome could be a preliminary NATO and a preliminary EC. The statement issued after today's talks, however, says that you do not intend to form any kind of union.

[Fur] It would not be suitable; it would not be right. In a unifying Europe there can be regional cooperation, but regional pacts or agreements would be nonsense because the general character of the cooperation would exclude such regional pacts. So we stressed that the future cooperation of the Visegrad Group—let's call it that from now on—concerns only these countries. This does not mean, however, that it would be a kind of close group of pacts and agreements. It continues to be open to the world and—this was a particularly important point at today's talks—not only to the West but also to the East.

[Kert] The Hungarian Army had plans to purchase weapons from the arsenal of former East Germany. After the split of the Czechoslovak Army, the sharing of military technology will also cause problems. Is any kind of cooperation possible in the field of buying military technology?

[Fur] Yes, there can be cooperation in purchasing external elements of military technology. On the other hand, some form of cooperation between the three countries can be formed directly for the production of certain parts, or even military-technical equipment.

[Kert] A few days ago a Slovak professor said that the relationship between the Hungarian and the Slovak Republics had become so tense that there was the threat of an armed conflict breaking out. Could this tension be felt at today's talks?

[Fur] First, let me qualify the statement by the professor as one which did not correspond to the truth. There has never been any tension in the military sense between Slovakia and Hungary, and I trust it will not occur in the future either. Those who sat there knew—the most competent ones sat there—that it has never existed. Therefore it could not be felt at all since a nonexistent thing cannot influence real talks.

[Kert] There was mention of a similar nonexistent thing. An article published in Bratislava PRAVDA claims that the Hungarian Army was making preparations along the northern borders. This was denied by the Czechoslovak defense minister himself.

[Fur] These rumors are not leaked from official circles. These are untrue statements. I think there are certain circles or forces who are interested in threatening and shocking certain groups of Czechoslovakia's public opinion with such things. There was no mention, however, of how we could prevent this. We did note that if such things come up again, the best thing to do is for those concerned to turn to each other and clarify the untrue nature of things and refute them in an adequate manner.

#### **Official Describes Espionage Directed at Hungary**

LD2609075192 Prague Stanice Ceskoslovensko  
Radio Network in Czech 1200 GMT 23 Sep 92

[Text] According to Slovak Interior Ministry spokesman Stanislav Ryban, no institutions within the ministry undertake espionage or intelligence tasks. He stated that intelligence and counterintelligence is controlled by the Federal Ministry of the Interior.

Stanislav Ryban was responding to a statement by Tibor Fuzessy, Hungarian minister without portfolio authorized to supervise Hungarian intelligence services. He claimed in his lecture on Hungary's internal security on 21 September that Slovakia is intensively building espionage networks, and that Hungary is the center of its attention.

#### **Hungarian Minister's Statement Evokes 'Anxiety'**

AU2509142992 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak  
24 Sep 92 p 1

[Peter Kuchar commentary: "The Specter of Slovakia Is Haunting Budapest"]

[Text] According to a CSTK report that we published elsewhere [in today's issue], some Hungarian Government representatives are convinced that the neighboring countries have for quite some time now been engaged in espionage activity against Hungary. Particularly alarming is the fact that "Slovakia is intensively building up an espionage network with Hungary at the center of attention."

The CSFR military doctrine, which, incidentally, is still valid, proceeds from the premise that the federation has no enemies in the region. This doctrine, which has so far not been called in question by anyone, including in Slovakia, is aimed at securing the state's ability to defend itself against attack from any direction and does not

define any direction of defense as a priority. To put it in plain terms, no one in the CSFR is getting ready for a war against Hungary.

The Hungarian minister's statement, if seen in context with the strained relations due to the Gabcikovo hydroelectric power project, with the creation of the Hungarian Home Guard command in the immediate vicinity of the Slovak Republic's border, and with the open outburst of anti-Slovak sentiments in Hungary in the wake of the anti-Slovak propaganda launched after the European Cup game [between Slovan Bratislava and Ferencvaros Budapest on 16 September] in Bratislava, evokes justified anxiety on the Slovak side.

In the CSFR intelligence was, and remains, within federal jurisdiction and is provided for, even for the needs of the Army, by the Federal Ministry of Interior. Screenings and other interventions into the structure of the intelligence service after November 1989 have virtually liquidated this institution. That is surely known also to the Hungarian minister. Of course, Slovakia is going to build its own intelligence service because such an institution is vital for the existence of every state. So far, there has not been time to build it. The statement made by the government official of the neighboring country, with which we would like to engage in friendly cooperation, should make us speed matters up.

If Hungary intends to start engaging in espionage activity against its neighbors and the Hungarian Government member deems it necessary to publicly justify this by the alleged aggressiveness of the neighbors, it is quite possible that this activity will not be confined to intelligence. Should nationality discords escalate in southern Slovakia, we will know from where the wind blows. It is apparent that independent Slovakia will have to react to the situation as depicted by the Hungarian minister also when formulating its own military doctrine.

#### **Official Calls Gabcikovo Opponents 'Paid Agents'**

AU2509125192 Prague CSTK in English 0749 GMT  
24 Sep 92

[Excerpt] Bratislava [dateline as received]—[passage omitted] In the youth daily SMENA Julius Binder, director of the state enterprise Vodohospodarska Vystavba (Hydroelectric Constructions) says that it is not at all truth that citizens of the Rye Island (South Slovakia-ed.) are opposed to the completion of the Gabcikovo project. The opponents are a couple of paid agents working for the Hungarian Government and they influence the public opinion in Hungary. Once the project is put into operation, all opponents will see how mistaken they had been, Binder says. [passage omitted]

**Jeszzenszky, FRY Counterpart on Minority Rights**

*LD2609080392 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network  
in Hungarian 1500 GMT 23 Sep 92*

[Text] Hungary would like the settlement of Serbian refugees in Vojvodina to be halted. This was reiterated by Geza Jeszenszky in a meeting in Washington [as heard] with the foreign minister of little Yugoslavia [Ilija Djukic]. The Hungarian foreign minister also urged that the rights of Vojvodina Hungarians should be guaranteed in Serbia by an agreement.

In his reply, the Yugoslav politician said that the Belgrade government itself is also in favor of the expansion of minority rights, and that during the course of settling the southern Slav crisis it will do everything possible to achieve this aim.

**Official Visits Russia To Discuss Minority Issues**

*AU2809145492 Budapest MTI in English 1824 GMT  
24 Sep 92*

[Text] Moscow, 24 September (MTI)—Hungary and Russia are expected to sign a document on their policies towards national minorities later this year, Hungarian Secretary of State Geza Entz said after talks Thursday [24 September] in Moscow. Entz, who heads the Office in Charge of Hungarians Living Outside the Country, paid a four-day visit to Moscow and held official talks with the secretary of Russia's Constitutional Committee, Oleg Rumyantsev, and Deputy Foreign Minister Fedor Shelov-Kovedyayev.

At a press conference after the talks, which were initiated by the Russian side, Entz said his current visit gave new impetus to the two countries' international cooperation on national minorities issues. It will make possible joint research to this end and an agreement was reached on the visit of a Russian group of experts to Budapest. They will study systems for institutions dealing with minority policy.

Both sides agreed on cooperating to ensure rights of national minorities and to exchange expertise on ways to

promote relations with minorities living outside a country. Both countries have considerable numbers of minority groups living beyond their borders.

**Antall Seeks European Support for Canal Project**

*LD2509160392 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network  
in Hungarian 1200 GMT 25 Sep 92*

[Text] Hungary wants the Danube-Rhine-Main canal network to be a link between the peoples of Europe, Jozsef Antall said at the opening ceremony in Nuremberg. The project that cost \$6 billion and took 32 years to complete will make it possible for Hungary's ships to go from the Black Sea right up to the North Sea.

The Hungarian head of government said in connection with the Gabcikovo hydroelectric power station that Hungary has abrogated the treaty, but that Slovakia is seeking solutions that would entail it infringing border treaties, and would incite further tensions in the region that is already burdened with conflicts. He said it is regrettable that Slovakia has not yet taken steps toward formulating a joint stance, despite the Hungarian initiative. Jozsef Antall asked for Europe's help in resolving the dispute.

**Minister Says Bos Problem Not Political Issue**

*LD2809113192 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network  
in Hungarian 0500 GMT 27 Sep 92*

[Text] According to Geza Jeszenszky, in the matter of Bos, there is no political difference between Hungary and Slovakia. The Hungarian foreign minister gave a statement to the Polish weekly WPROST and said that the reason why the Hungarians oppose the building of the hydroelectric power station is not because they want to cause damage to the Slovak economy, but because that would endanger the environment of both countries and it would not bring the desirable economic profit. Jeszenszky also said that he is convinced that the long-term strategy of the independent Slovak state will demand the maintaining of good relations with its immediate neighbors.

**Military Pact With Latvia Signed, Ukraine Next***AU2809084492 Warsaw GAZETA WYBORCZA  
in Polish 22 Sep 92 p 3*

[Wojciech Staszewski report: "Latvia and Ukraine, Yes"]

[Text] "Contrary to what former defense minister Jan Parys has been saying, there is no concrete plan to conclude a military agreement with Russia," Colonel Leszek Ziolo from the Ministry of National Defense told us on 21 September, "but a military agreement with Ukraine should be signed next month. We signed one with Latvia last week."

Colonel Ziolo explained that Poland does not intend to conclude a military agreement with Russia for the time being. The Ministry of National Defense is merely engaged in work on a lower-ranking document—a draft agreement on cooperation between the Polish and Russian defense ministries, calling for the training of Polish officers in Russian colleges and sports contests between the soldiers of both armies. This agreement is not expected to be signed until next year.

However, a military agreement with Ukraine is to be signed next month, said the colonel from the Ministry of National Defense. This calls for the training of several Ukrainian officers in Poland each year, and vice versa. It also calls for an "exchange of experiences in defense policy."

Last week, Defense Minister Janusz Onyszkiewicz signed the Polish-Latvian military accord with Latvian Defense Minister Talavs Jundzis. Poland is to help Latvia build up an army. "We will train officers and experts, and organize military structures, especially a defense system for their maritime border," said Colonel Ziolo. "We will also sell the Latvians communications equipment." Unofficially, though, we also learned that a sale of heavy military equipment is not out of the question.

So far, Poland has signed military cooperation deals with Hungary, France, Czechoslovakia, and Latvia. But, Colonel Ziolo stressed, none of these agreements constitute a military alliance.

**Politicians, Coalitions Split Over EC Integration***AU2509120592 Warsaw NOWA EUROPA in Polish  
23 Sep 92 p 12*

[Editorial: "Integration Integrates"]

[Text] It has been known for many months that one basic issue over which Polish politicians and their groupings are divided is Poland's integration with Europe. When the current coalition was formed, it was one of the reasons that made skeptics doubt that it would survive. How possible is agreement and cooperation between forces that have such a different attitude toward Polish

policy on European integration; it was predicted that the Democratic Union and the Liberal-Democratic Congress would never be able to reach an agreement with the Christian-National Union about the issue.

So far, a situation has not arisen in which there would be a confrontation between their positions regarding a specific government decision related to integration and that is what has made it difficult to determine the accuracy of those predictions.

However, Sunday's [20 September] referendum in France has provided an opportunity for political comment in Poland, too. So, J.K. Bielecki, who is responsible in the government for contacts with the EC, has expressed definite satisfaction with the French "yes" to Maastricht. On the other hand, speaking on television on Sunday, Deputy Prime Minister Goryszewski admitted that he would have preferred the French referendum to have produced the opposite outcome. During a meeting with American journalists on Sunday, he said that in his opinion European integration should proceed on the basis of the principle of a political confederation of states and on that of a common market.

So, two leading government politicians have expressed what are clearly different assessments, and that might prompt concern about the extent to which there is cohesion regarding the integration policy within the Suchocka cabinet. So far, no reassurances have been forthcoming from the government's headquarters. In a recent statement given to NOWA EUROPA, Minister Bielecki firmly denied that there was a dispute within the government over the EC. In his opinion, the private views of certain politicians are not reflected at meetings of the Council of Ministers. The prime minister's press secretary also commented in a similar vein about Deputy Prime Minister Goryszewski's statement. This means that the concern about the issue is excessive, at least for the time being. That is fortunate.

**Interior Minister Interviewed on Agents, Security***AU2509114392 Warsaw GAZETA WYBORCZA  
in Polish 19-20 Sep 92 pp 8-10*

[Interview with Interior Minister Andrzej Milczanowski by Piotr Najsztub; place and date not given: "Time for Tea"]

[Excerpt] [passage omitted] [Najsztub] You once said that never before has Poland been in such need of efficient intelligence and counterintelligence. Why?

[Milczanowski] We must be sensitive in the traditional direction—in other words, toward the East and West. It is worth being patient. One should not adopt any fixed option because there are changes occurring all the time in Europe. One must not be stiff. The countries that we suspect of harboring hostile intentions could be devoid

of these intentions tomorrow, and we must know about it. Conversely, countries that are friendly today could be different tomorrow.

As far as counterintelligence is concerned, it should lash out whenever it detects intelligence penetration.

[Najsztab] I have spoken to several intelligence and counterintelligence officers. They claim that the authorities before 1989 obtained much more information from intelligence than the present authorities. Do today's politicians feel the need for such information? Do they get it from you?

[Milczanowski] You have touched on a major problem, the problem of setting tasks for the special services and the discharge of these tasks. I can assure you that information from these sources reaches decisionmakers in various ways.

[Najsztab] Do you receive any suggestions from these services on various topics?

[Milczanowski] The president, the prime minister, and some ministers attach great importance to this information. There was less interest in it before.

[Najsztab] Is there room for a Polish economic intelligence service in Europe?

[Milczanowski] What sort of answer can an interior minister give? A rational one—in other words, there is no answer.

[Najsztab] How many German agents do you think there are in Poland?

[Milczanowski] I will not say.

[Najsztab] And how many American agents?

[Milczanowski] I will not say. We have good relations with the Americans.

[Najsztab] What about French agents?

[Milczanowski] Again, I will not say. It would be dangerous to do so. If I say anything, the next day Minister Skubiszewski [of foreign affairs] might get a note from the government of the country concerned asking on what basis I think there are so many agents of that country in Poland. And what would I say then?

[Najsztab] You say that the Office for the Protection of the State and the intelligence service should be separated from the Interior Ministry. If so, who would be in control of these henceforth independent services, and who would appoint their chiefs?

[Milczanowski] They would be under the control of the prime minister, who would supervise them with the help of a Committee for Special Services. This committee would consist of representatives of government offices responsible for national defense, security, finances, foreign affairs, and justice, in addition to which there would

be a representative of the Office of the Council of Ministers and the Presidential Chancellery. The head of the Office for the Protection of the State would be appointed by the president on the prime minister's recommendation. Such a solution would guarantee essential stability for the special services.

[Najsztab] Do you think Poland is safe?

[Milczanowski] It is considerably safer than the West. Statistics show that the scale of dangers here is much less than in such countries as France or Germany.

[Najsztab] But it is less safe than it was a few years ago.

[Milczanowski] If one controls all spheres of life rigidly and closes all borders, one achieves good figures. As normal countries go, Poland is safe.

[Najsztab] As minister of internal affairs and head of the secret services, what do you think Poles should fear the most?

[Milczanowski] A lack of rational thinking among quite a sizable part of the political elite. Their thinking percolates to society. To be honest, the absence of rational thinking about the state and the display of sentiments, emotions, and grudges is undermining our statehood. The fate of Yugoslavia and Czechoslovakia should sober us up.

#### **Committee Examines Martial Law Responsibility**

*AU2809084192 Warsaw NOWA EUROPA in Polish  
23 Sep 92 p 2*

[E.W. report: "Historical Error or Tragic Necessity?"]

[Text] On Tuesday, 22 September, the Sejm Commission on Constitutional Responsibility met to examine a motion by the parliamentary club of the Confederation of Independent Poland [KPN] to place the 26 members of the State Council in December 1981 before the State Tribunal for introducing martial law. The KPN motion claims that there was no legal basis on which to introduce martial law in 1981, and that the State Council, which issued the martial law decree, had no authority to do so because there was a Sejm session in progress at the time. In addition, say the authors of the motion, the Military Council For National Salvation that took over power after the imposition of martial law was unconstitutional.

Present at the meeting was General Wojciech Jaruzelski, who was chairman of the Military Council. Also present were Henryk Jablonski, State Council chairman at the time, and the then interior minister, Czeslaw Kiszczak.

Kazimierz Lojewski, General Jaruzelski's defense counsel, said that the KPN motion is "inconsistent with the law because it fails to specify exactly what legal provision, or indeed what article of the Constitution, was violated," and that the law governing the State Tribunal

says that only those who have violated the Constitution can face constitutional responsibility.

General Jaruzelski said he takes all the blame for introducing martial law. In his opinion, martial law was introduced "in a radically dangerous situation." "It saved the nation from tragedy," he claimed.

"I do not shun the eventuality of bearing responsibility for my deeds," said General Kiszczak.

However, the Commission decided to discontinue six other cases, including one against General Florian Siwicki, who was defense deputy minister during martial law. "The law on the State Tribunal does not envisage deputy ministers facing constitutional responsibility," was the explanation given.

The meeting was deferred until a later date because of a suspicion that one of the targets of the motion, Henryk Szafranski, was not properly informed of the date of the meeting. In such a case, the meeting would have to be repeated.

Another target of the KPN motion, Ryszard Reiff, described the 12 December 1981 decision to introduce martial law a "historical error." According to him, Soviet intervention, or the threat of a Soviet intervention, could have been averted.

#### Lithuanian Poles Protest Discrimination

PM2509105592 Gdansk GLOS WYBRZEZA in Polish  
14 Sep 92 p 3

[Miroslaw Piepka article: "It's Tough Being a Pole"]

[Text] "We do not want to serve as farm hands to Lithuanian landowners. That is what they are aiming for," the determined-sounding women waiting in line in front of a village store in Turgiele [Turgeliai] insist. Zofia Gielasiewicz from Adamczuki [Adomciukai] does not even attempt to tone down her anger: "Our own land has been divided up as if it were state property. We all applied to have our landed property restored to us, but in the meantime the Lithuanian authorities had it parceled out among their own people. Despite the fact that each of us has documents to prove that we were previously rightful owners holding titles to all that land."

In Ejszyszki [Eisiskes] I heard similar claims all around: "We had lived on this land for generations. First, the Soviet authorities collectivized everything, and now their Lithuanian successors are dividing it out among themselves."

Until last June, Jan Olechnowicz of Janczyny [Joncynys] held the post of head of the Agriculture Department at the Soleczniki [Salcininkai] Rayon Office. This is what he has to say: "The purge of Polish intelligentsia resident in the two rayons inhabited predominantly by the Polish population, that is Soleczniki and Wilno [Vilnius], is being carried out in a most determined manner. All persons who previously held managerial or

leading administrative positions, including myself, have now been dismissed from their posts. We are talking about more than 70 people. The official reason for the dismissals was the so-called assessment of qualifications. In my own case, they were unable to use any other argument, since they could not even charge me with past membership in the Communist party."

Jan Songin, head of the parish administration in Ejszyszki, was dismissed from his post overnight, despite protests from the parish self-government body. (His comment: "There is no arguing with those people. A decree is issued and that is that. The old, tried-and-tested communist methods are now proving wonderfully handy here in Lithuania in doing away with the 'Polish element.'")

Seventy-year-old Jozef Mickiewicz of Turgiele refused to accept a Lithuanian passport: "I am Polish, not Lithuanian, so why the hell should I accept it? I refused. My two sons also refused to take Lithuanian citizenship. They are now both left without employment. They keep looking for jobs, but all they get is rejections."

Father Jozef Aszkielowicz, the parish priest at Turgiele, is not excessively talkative: "We live here and we must cope with these problems somehow. It is true that Lithuanians are doing everything in their power to eradicate all Polish elements from these territories."

The Polish community in Lithuania has more than 300,000 people. However, the authorities of the young Lithuanian state are clearly doing everything they can to force our compatriots to become "Lithuanianized," although Arunas Ejgirdas, the Lithuanian Government's plenipotentiary for the Soleczniki rayon, holds a different view of the subject:

"I can safely state that I have never come across a nationality-related problem in this area. There is, however, a different problem here: the need to de-Sovietize these people. The local population has no command of the Lithuanian language. Moreover, they were deliberately set against us by Moscow."

"Maybe you could quote us some actual cases?"

"I would prefer not to cite actual cases; after all, this would involve quoting names of the people concerned."

"But you did dismiss Poles from local administrative posts. You have been closing Polish schools and kindergartens."

"As for the former charge, it was the consequence of cuts in posts resulting from administrative reorganization. As for the other claim, there is not enough money to keep all the schools and kindergartens open. We sometimes have to make difficult choices."

Jan Mincewicz, chairman of the Association of Poles in Lithuania, does not hesitate in giving us his unequivocal opinion:

"You have to be a considerable hypocrite to maintain that there is no Polish problem in Lithuania. Or to claim that the strategy of concealment, whereby the symptoms of the disease are carefully suppressed and forced, as it were, out of sight and deeper into the system, is equivalent to a cure."

Jan Mincewicz builds up his case on the foundation of verifiable facts:

"A fortnight after a Polish kindergarten was closed down in Podborze [Paberziai], ostensibly because of a shortage of funds, recruitment was announced to... a Lithuanian kindergarten in the same locality. After the local kolkhoz was closed down in Mejszagola [Maisiagala], the education department took over the financing of the Lithuanian and Russian kindergartens, but refused to fund the Polish kindergarten."

And another comment from Jan Mincewicz:

"Abuse of the law is the only term to describe what is going on. No European laws are being observed, nor are any of their own state laws. Poles are thrown out of their jobs and their land on a variety of pretexts. And when no pretext whatsoever can be found, they wheel out the stereotyped charge of 'autonomist.' This is equivalent to an accusation of being an 'enemy of the people.'"

I recently spent a long while in Lithuania, and I also stayed there last year. Consequently, I was able to check out many facts and cases, and this gives me a sound basis for arriving at an informed opinion now.

Thus, under the pretext of an anticommunist campaign, many Poles who had never belonged to the party and were faithful Christians found themselves dismissed from their posts. They were replaced by members of the old, communist nomenklatura, whose only claim to superiority was that they were ethnic Lithuanians. The very same people who would in the past make inspection visits in schools to check if the obligatory pictures of Lenin were duly hanging in their places, are now visiting Polish schools again, this time pulling down our Polish eagle emblems and portraits of the pope, and erasing all slogans that declare: "We Are Polish."

The anti-Polish campaign does not even require an effort to "Lithuanianize" people. It is equally effective to try to eradicate the Polish character of people's life and culture by a deliberate Russification campaign. This method has been tried and tested in the past years, and today it is being introduced with equal success. For example, students at higher academic establishments are still divided into Lithuanian and Russian language groups, but there are no Polish language groups envisaged at all. The memorial plaque on the house where Adam Mickiewicz lived in Vilnius is inscribed in Lithuanian and in Russian.

The majority of ethnic Polish students at the state school in Ejszyski who were previously taking instruction in Russian language groups, have stated their wish to move to Polish language classes. Both parents and teachers supported the students' appeal. In addition, the teaching personnel were all trained accordingly, and the required numbers of Polish-language textbooks were provided. However, the Ministry of Education canceled all these efforts at a stroke and refused to give its approval to the scheme.

All these problems mirror and exemplify the difficulties that are facing ethnic Poles in their efforts to recover the rights to their own land. And while we are on the subject of landed property, it is worth quoting here the following extract from a letter that the Association of Poles in Lithuania addressed to the Polish and Lithuanian presidents:

"(...) The practice of priority allocation of the best arable land to persons who do not hold the rightful titles to it leads to alterations in the ethnic structure of the population, discriminates against the Polish minority's economic position, and contravenes not only the letter of the January Declaration, but also the accepted norms of international law (...)"

Unfortunately, the authors of the appeal received no reply whatsoever from either of the addressees.

Below are excerpts from official recommendations recorded in the minutes of a meeting of the State Subcommission for East Lithuania (an area inhabited almost exclusively by ethnic Poles):

"Classes with Lithuanian as the language of instruction to be opened in 12 schools in the Vilnius and Salcininkai rayons (...)"

(To an objection that in many cases there is not even a single ethnic Lithuanian person resident in the localities mentioned in the recommendations, the official reply was: "Once there are Lithuanian schools, you will have Lithuanians too.")

Let me cite more gems from the same meeting of the East Lithuanian State Subcommission:

"(...) In the vetting procedures concerning school teachers and principals particular attention will be paid to all persons known to have been actively involved in the autonomy movement (...)"

Notwithstanding all the above evidence, Arunas Ejgirdas, Lithuanian Government plenipotentiary for the Soleczniki rayon, still stands adamant by his declarations. This is what he told me in an interview: "By creating concrete facts and situations, we try to persuade the Polish population resident in this area that our attitude is objective and that our actions comply with the law. Lithuania is now independent and we must live in accordance with the norms of international law."

**Iliescu, Constantinescu Projected in Run-Off***AU2709193192*

[Editorial Report] Bucharest Radio Romania Network in Romanian at 1900 GMT on 27 September begins a hookup with Television Studio 3, relaying the first projections of the two polling institutes IRSOP (Romanian Public Opinion Poll Institute) and IMFAS (Applied Social Research Institute, Bonn), given the fact that voting in most places officially stopped at 1900 GMT. The television announcers indicate a head-to-head contest between the Democratic National Salvation Front [FDSN] and the Democratic Convention of Romania [CDR] for the Senate and the Assembly of Deputies, while Iliescu leads clearly in the presidential race with 48 percent of the vote, while Emil Constantinescu has 33 percent, with the Romanian National Unity Party's [PUNR] Funar winning 10 percent.

At national level, "the CDR has obtained 22.5 percent for the National Assembly, FDSN 27.5 percent, the National Salvation Front [FSN] 11 percent, and PUNR 4 percent."

For the Senate, the projection says: "CDR 23 percent, FDSN, 27.5 percent, FSN 11 percent, National Liberal Party 4 percent, PUNR 7.5 percent, and the Democratic Union of Hungarians in Romania 7 percent."

The announcer says that voting is still continuing in some polling stations around the country.

**FDSN Protests 'Extremely Grave' Incident***AU2709190092 Bucharest ROMPRES in English  
1832 GMT 27 Sep 92*

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES 27/9/1992—The National Council of the Democratic National Salvation Front [FDSN] draws the attention that a serious deed took place in Braila which is characterised as "extremely grave": A poster was printed and spread which reads that the Democratic National Salvation Front would have withdrawn the backing of Ion Iliescu for the presidential elections in favour of Mircea Druc. The Democratic National Salvation Front—that formation's communique reads—appreciates that it might mislead the electorate in that county and thus affect the results of the polls.

"The Democratic National Salvation Front—the communique further reads—firmly backs only Ion Iliescu's candidature and demands the legal bodies to take measures against the guilty persons."

Addressing the press department of the Police General Inspectorate, a ROMPRES editor was informed that police was informed of that violation of the Election Law and that measures are taken to find out the authors of that poster. Until this time it has been found out that that poster had not been printed in Braila but in Bucharest and it had been taken to Braila to be released.

**Foreigners Posing as Election Reporters Discovered***AU2709142392 Bucharest Radio Romania Network  
in Romanian 0800 GMT 27 Sep 92*

[Text] The press bureau of the General Police Inspectorate has faxed us a statement this morning announcing that last night they received a letter from the REUTER news agency with the following message:

We [REUTER] have been informed that the foreign citizens Robert (?Golding) from the Netherlands and the (?Serbian citizen) [name indistinct] accredited themselves at the press bureau in the Bucuresti Hotel as photographic reporters of the REUTER press agency, on page 13, under numbers 226 and 227.

We wish to inform you that the mentioned citizens are in fact impostors because they are not employed by the REUTER news agency, to whom they are unknown, and their accreditation has not been applied for by our news agency. Consequently, their accreditation is false.

According to assertions made in its 25 September issue by the daily ROMANIA LIBERA, one of the two mentioned citizens seems to have had a conflict with forces of order during the electoral rally organized by President Ion Iliescu in Alba Iulia, the letter received from REUTER says, further asking the General Police Inspectorate to take necessary legal steps against the two citizens and to confiscate their false identification cards.

The letter is signed by Mr. Peter (?Humphrey), REUTER's Bucharest bureau chief, the fax sent to us by the press bureau of the General Police Inspectorate mentions.

**Cunescu: Simultaneous Elections Affect Results***AU2809113592 Bucharest ROMPRES in English  
2219 GMT 27 Sep 92*

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 27/9/1992—"Of course we are experiencing a disillusion," Sergiu Cunescu, president of the Romanian Social Democratic Party [PSDR], stated to a ROMPRES editor. "We shall analyze in detail the results of the Democratic Convention all over the country to see which were the influences that led to these results. We shall have to draw the conclusions as concerns the propaganda of the Democratic Convention as well—which we should admit was insufficient also because of the reduced mass media we had during the election campaign. The results are also due to the fact that the presidential elections were simultaneous with the parliamentary elections, and the Democratic National Salvation Front entered - like in 1990—in Ion Iliescu's wave. This is why I have fought in parliament for the separation of the presidential and parliamentary elections. If they had been separate, I am sure the Democratic Convention's results would have been much better," Mr. Cunescu stated.

# Brucan Doubts Strong Coalition Government

AU2709212492 Bucharest ROMPRES in English  
2037 GMT 27 Sep 92

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 27/9/1992—"As far as the presidential elections are concerned, it is certain that the final fight will be in the second ballot," known Romanian politician Silviu Brucan stated to a ROMPRES editor at several minutes after the results of the INFAS/IRSOP/TV poll were announced. "I think Ion Iliescu will win. As concerns the situation in Parliament, things are more complex because Iliescu has increased the number of the votes in favour of the Democratic National Salvation Front [FDSN] which is now ranking first. The supposition made before the elections was that, if the Democratic Convention is to be ranking first, it will form a coalition with the National Salvation Front and the National Liberal Party backed by the Hungarian Democratic Union of Romania, that is a centre-right formula between parties having similar programmes and ideologies. But now, the Democratic National Salvation Front, ranking first, could hardly form a governmental coalition with close parties to get fifty percent of the Parliament. It is to be seen after the final results. But as things look now, the achievement of a governmental coalition powerful enough to govern the country seems very difficult."

# Latest Results on Election Participation Released

AU2709152992 Bucharest Radio Romania Network  
in Romanian 1400 GMT 27 Sep 92

[Victor Spirache report from the Central Election Bureau]

[Text] According to polls conducted at 1,395 voting offices throughout the country, the results of which are considered to be representative for the whole of Romania and for each of its counties, about 6.4 million voters have cast their votes as of 1400, which represents 39 percent of the country's electorate. A higher percentage in participation—over 45 percent—has been reported from the counties of Harghita—58.1 percent, Covasna—50.5 percent, Mures—48.5 percent, Vaslui—47.6 percent, and Salaj—47.3 percent. The counties where voter participation was the lowest are: Giurgiu—22.5 percent, Olt—29.9 percent, Mehedinti—29.8 percent, Dimbovita—31.2 percent, and Arges—32.6 percent.

Following are the figures regarding voter participation until 1400 hours as distributed in Romania's counties:

| County | Percentage |
|--------|------------|
| Alba   | 40.2       |
| Arad   | 38.1       |
| Arges  | 32.6       |
| Bacau  | 42.6       |
| Bihor  | 38.7       |

|                             |      |
|-----------------------------|------|
| Bistrita-Nasaud             | 32.9 |
| Botosani                    | 46.4 |
| Brasov                      | 45.7 |
| Braila                      | 44.1 |
| Buzau                       | 35.9 |
| Caras-Severin               | 35.3 |
| Calarasi                    | 30.7 |
| Cluj                        | 39.9 |
| Constanta                   | 43.0 |
| Covasna                     | 50.5 |
| Dimbovita                   | 31.2 |
| Dolj                        | 32.0 |
| Galati                      | 35.9 |
| Giurgiu                     | 22.5 |
| Gorj                        | 36.1 |
| Harghita                    | 58.1 |
| Hunedoara                   | 48.8 |
| Ialomita                    | 33.9 |
| Iasi                        | 38.0 |
| Maramures                   | 38.4 |
| Mehedinti                   | 29.8 |
| Mures                       | 48.5 |
| Neamt                       | 40.8 |
| Olt                         | 29.9 |
| Prahova                     | 33.4 |
| Satu-Mare                   | 41.8 |
| Salaj                       | 47.3 |
| Sibiu                       | 44.8 |
| Suceava                     | 45.2 |
| Teleorman                   | 32.0 |
| Timis                       | 38.5 |
| Tulcea                      | 39.7 |
| Vaslui                      | 47.6 |
| Vilcea                      | 38.5 |
| Vrancea                     | 38.5 |
| Bucharest Municipality      | 42.5 |
| Ilfov Agricultural District | 27.4 |

That was the situation at 1400 concerning participation in voting in the counties of Romania.

# First Official Estimates on Presidential Elections

AU2809110092 Bucharest ROMPRES in English  
1045 GMT 28 Sep 92

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 28/9/1992—According to the first estimates based on the official data from half the 252 polling stations where INFAS [Applied Social Research Institute], IRSOP [Romanian Institute for Public Opinion Poll] and the Romanian Television

made their exit poll, the presidential candidates got the following percentages:

|                       |               |
|-----------------------|---------------|
| Ion Iliescu           | 45.9 per cent |
| Emil Constantinescu   | 31.4 p.c.     |
| Gheorghe Funar        | 11.5 p.c.     |
| Caius Traian Dragomir | 5.00 p.c.     |
| Ioan Manzatu          | 3.1 p.c.      |
| Mircea Druc           | 3.1 p.c.      |

These figures show Ion Iliescu and Emil Constantinescu sliding back as compared to yesterday's [27 September] exit poll figures. A 1.5 per cent increase occurred in the case of Gheorghe Funar and Caius Traian Dragomir.

### Iliescu 'More Than Sure' of Run-Off Ballot

AU2809112992 Bucharest ROMPRES in English  
0825 GMT 28 Sep 92

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 27/9/1992—"It is more than sure that we will have a run-off ballot" Ion Iliescu, Democratic National Salvation Front [FDSN] candidate for Romania's presidency, told a news conference called on Sunday [27 September] at midnight.

Ion Iliescu expressed his belief that in the second round the option the electorate expressed on Sunday would be reconfirmed. In context Mr. Iliescu stated he was confident in the fact that all political parties would accept the results of the polls in a spirit of fair play.

Commenting on the difference separating him, according to first estimations, from the second presidential candidate Mr. Iliescu said "that reflected the frame of mind of the electorate."

### Latest Projection Gives Left Majority of Seats

AU2809110892 Bucharest Radio Romania Network  
in Romanian 0900 GMT 28 Sep 92

[Text] According to the latest projection made by INFAS [Applied Social Research Institute], IRSOP [Romanian Institute for Public Opinion Poll], and TVR [the Romanian Radio and Television Company] which was announced one hour ago [0800 GMT] on television, the distribution of seats in the two chambers of the newly elected parliament is as follows:

|                                                  |          |
|--------------------------------------------------|----------|
| Senate:                                          |          |
| Democratic National Salvation Front [FDSN]       | 46 seats |
| Democratic Convention of Romania [CDR]           | 35 seats |
| National Salvation Front [FSN]                   | 16 seats |
| National Unity Party of Romanians [PUNR]         | 14 seats |
| Democratic Union of Hungarians in Romania [UDMR] | 12 seats |
| Romania Mare Party [PRM]                         | 7 seats  |
| Socialist Party of Labor [PSM]                   | 7 seats  |

|                                                  |           |
|--------------------------------------------------|-----------|
| Democratic Agrarian Party of Romania [PDAR]      | 6 seats   |
| Chamber of Deputies:                             |           |
| Democratic National Salvation Front [FDSN]       | 103 seats |
| Democratic Convention of Romania [CDR]           | 82 seats  |
| National Salvation Front [FSN]                   | 41 seats  |
| National Unity Party of Romanians [PUNR]         | 31 seats  |
| Democratic Union of Hungarians in Romania [UDMR] | 30 seats  |
| Romania Mare Party [PRM]                         | 16 seats  |
| Socialist Party of Labor [PSM]                   | 12 seats  |
| Democratic Agrarian Party of Romania [PDAR]      | 13 seats  |

According to the same projection, the three presidential candidates at the top were endorsed by voters as follows:

Ion Iliescu [FDSN candidate], 45.9 percent; Emil Constantinescu [CDR candidate], 31.4 percent; Gheorghe Funar [PUNR candidate], 11.5 percent.

We would like to remind our listeners that the figures mentioned represent a projection made on the basis of the official results of the IRSOP-INFAS-TRV public opinion poll that was announced on Romanian television one hour ago.

[Bucharest ROMPRES in English at 1045 GMT on 28 September provides the following standings for the remaining presidential candidates, based on the IRSOP-INFAS-TRV exit poll: Caius Traian Dragomir, 5 percent; Ioan Manzatu, 3.1 percent; Mircea Druc, 3.1 percent.]

### Police Think 'Elections Proceeded Correctly'

AU2809111992 Bucharest ROMPRES in English  
1039 GMT 28 Sep 92

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 28/9/1992—The police thinks the elections proceeded correctly, said Major-General Gheorghe Gamba, chief of the Police General Inspectorate.

Through the efforts of the police officers—he added—a climate of civic safety was ensured to provide for a civilized course of the presidential and parliamentary elections. The policemen who enforced public order and provided guard for the polling stations, ballots and other supplies necessary for the polls during transport and storage, did their duty.

26 cases of public disorder were recorded where the provisions of the electoral law were also breached. The police took firm action and did what was necessary against the offenders, which means six criminal files and 20 fines.

Even now, when ballot counting has already been completed in many polling stations or is about to be completed, the policemen together with the gendarmes and the Army are still on mission and will remain so until all activities having to do with the elections have ended—Major-General Gamba concluded.

**Owen, Vance Meet Serb Commander in Banja Luka**

LD2509180192 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service  
in Serbo-Croatian 1525 GMT 25 Sep 92

[Text] Banja Luka, 25 Sep (TANJUG)—Cyrus Vance and Lord Owen, co-chairmen of the Conference on Yugoslavia, today visited the 1st Krajina Corps Command in Banja Luka, where they were told that an air exclusion zone over Bosnia is out of the question until peace is secured in these areas.

"We cannot afford a situation in which we cannot protect our people by using our aviation," Colonel Milutin Vukelic, deputy of the Corps commander, told Owen and Vance, something he has repeated for the press. Vukelic added that Vance and Owen were offered guarantees for safe humanitarian aid flights to Banja Luka Airport and also safe aid transport via land corridors controlled by the army of the Serb Republic.

Such guarantees, according to Vukelic, were accepted and Vance and Owen are considering the use of all airports on the territory of Bosnia-Herzegovina for transport of humanitarian aid.

"We demanded that they apply pressure in order to eliminate foreign-Croatian (from Republic of Croatia) troops from these territories, which would make the path to the negotiating table and the political solution shorter," Vukelic stated. According to Vukelic, the guests commended the Serb Army for its respect of the agreement on the supervision of heavy artillery, and promised that they will try to make the other side accept all the decisions of the London conference.

**Vance: Situation 'Worse' Than Expected**

LD2509200592 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service  
in Serbo-Croatian 1849 GMT 25 Sep 92

[Text] Banja Luka, 25 Sep (TANJUG)—At the end of today's visit to Banja Luka, Cyrus Vance and Lord Owen, co-chairmen of the Conference on Yugoslavia, expressed concern because of the pressure on Muslims and Croats to leave their homes. They said the situation was worse than they had expected.

Cyrus Vance said: "We cannot agree with the statement of Radovan Karadzic that there is no ethnic cleansing here, especially in the areas outside of Banja Luka. Before we say anything we want to definitely check some things, but my impression is that the situation is worse than we had expected."

Lord Owen, following his and Vance's talks with numerous representatives of authorities, parties, and religious communities, told the domestic and foreign press that he and Vance will not immediately "express their concern to Mr. Karadzic because of the things we heard." He said: "We will talk about this later with him and with Mr. Radic, president of the municipality (Banja

Luka). We will try to restore confidence among the people to improve their situation."

"So far," Owen said, "this city has been known as a place of great tolerance, but we heard things that concern us even though we saw the goodwill for the preservation of peace here. We have seen this with people who are showing signs of tolerance and who are wishing to maintain peace in Banja Luka."

At the end of the talks, Radovan Karadzic, president of the Presidency of the Serb Republic, said that Owen and Vance's visit was precious. He said: "When we were accused of having concentration camps, we invited Paddy Ashdown, Sir Russell Johnson, and the entire British press, who saw the prisons for POW's and saw that conditions were bad in some of them. But they did not see any concentration camps, and certainly no death camps. Just as that visit helped us then, this visit will help prevent the further spread of lies about the Serbian people and will stop these lies from having any impact."

Karadzic added that it would be good if the Serbs in Sarajevo could enjoy at least 10 percent of the freedom, equality, and security enjoyed by the Croats and Muslims in Banja Luka. Muslim political leaders, he said, could approach foreigners and talk to them without any restrictions. They could make statements for foreign television. In Sarajevo, the Serbs dared not even show their faces, let alone come out onto their balconies.

This did not mean we should treat the Muslims and Croats in the same way. On the contrary, we demand that the Serbs from Sarajevo, Zenica, Tuzla, Travnik, and other cities be liberated; that they live freely in these cities; and that they are permitted to leave these cities when they wish, said Karadzic.

We heard from two people taking part in today's talks: Ibrahim Tabakovic, professor at Banja Luka University, and Muhamed Berber, father of the well-known painter Mersad. They said Vance and Owen pointed out that visible signs exist of goodwill, tolerance, and a readiness to preserve peace in Banja Luka, and to thwart the plans of all those who are prepared to carry out the policy of ethnic cleansing in any part of Bosnian Krajina. Among such people—apart from Karadzic—Owen and Vance mentioned Banja Luka Mayor Predrag Radic; senior officers in the I Krajina Corps; and Stojan Zupljanin, the head of the Bosanska Krajina police.

"I feel that the authorities in Banja Luka understand me and fully respect me. I have a shop there and a son working in it, and I am a respected citizen," said Muhamed Berber.

Dr. Ibrahim Tabakovic said the situation in Banja Luka is peaceful. He described it as excellent and said it must be maintained in every possible way. He praised Mayor Predrag Radic for his tolerance, saying that Radic has contributed a great deal to this situation. In Tabakovic's opinion, there has been no ethnic cleansing in Banja

Luka, although there were some problems with firing Muslims and Croats from their workplaces.

### Government Criticizes Lack of World Action

*LD2809093992 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 2100 GMT 27 Sep 92*

[Text] The Government of the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina has sent a letter to the president of the UN Security Council and to Cyrus Vance and Lord David Owen, cochairmen of the Conference on Yugoslavia. The Bosnia-Herzegovina Government expresses its profound disappointment with the slow and inefficient action of the international community in the implementation of the decisions concerning the situation in Bosnia-Herzegovina adopted by the UN Security Council and at the London and Geneva conferences.

It seems that the more favorable the decisions for the internationally recognized state of Bosnia-Herzegovina, the worse the situation becomes. At the same time, the more ready the legal authorities of Bosnia-Herzegovina to accept and implement those same decisions, [passage indistinct].

Sarajevo and other besieged towns in Bosnia-Herzegovina have again suffered for 14 days the drought and shortage of electricity for the simple reason that the main power lines have been destroyed, and the aggressor is not allowing repair work to be carried out under UN Protection Force [UNPROFOR] protection. We must stress that the overall situation in Sarajevo is disastrous, the letter from the Bosnia-Herzegovina Government to the UN Security Council says.

Can you imagine how hospitals full of wounded civilians can function without water and electricity, without oil for generator units, without gas, medicines, and dressings? Bakeries have stopped working due to the shortage of water and electricity, and humanitarian aid is no longer arriving in Sarajevo because neither air nor road corridors are open, as was envisaged by the decisions of the international community.

The Government of the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina, which is being held in the biggest of concentration camps along with the population, is not capable of providing basic conditions for the survival of the population of Bosnia-Herzegovina without adequate assistance from the world community which must not remain at the level of decisions and resolutions.

The UN Security Council resolutions concerning the opening of land corridors and the distribution of aid throughout Bosnia-Herzegovina are not easy to implement for the simple reason that the UNPROFOR cannot guarantee the safety of our expert teams while they are inspecting the passability of land corridors determined by the Geneva agreement. The government believes that the UNPROFOR cannot do this on their own because they are not familiar with the areas through which the land corridors should go.

The UN High Commission for Refugees strongly supports our plan to build refugee camps on the territory of Bosnia-Herzegovina in order to provide conditions to survive the winter. The UNPROFOR must provide safety for our experts while they are inspecting and selecting the most suitable locations for those camps, but this activity is also progressing slowly.

The letter to the UN Security Council concludes that the Bosnia-Herzegovina Government urgently requests strict observation of the adopted decisions and resolutions because every procrastination brings fresh victims of the aggression and a silent death to the inhabitants of Bosnia-Herzegovina. Are you prepared to be responsible for this, the letter sent via the Foreign Ministry of Bosnia-Herzegovina says.

### Serb Leader: Yugoslav Army Fleeing Prevlaka

*LD2809032992 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1523 GMT 27 Sep 92*

[Text] Belgrade, 27 Sep (TANJUG)—The Yugoslav Army is not withdrawing from Prevlaka and Konavli, rather it is fleeing, Bozidar Vucurevic, president of Trebinje [main Serb stronghold in Herzegovina] municipality, stated for SRNA.

In response to today's denial by the deputy commander of the Yugoslav Second Army, Major General Radomir Damjanovic, who said that this report was false, Vucurevic added that the Yugoslav Army is "fleeing in the same way as it has fled from Slovenia, Croatia, and the former Bosnia-Herzegovina."

"The first phase will be to withdraw to Kumbor and then the Yugoslav Army will move to Ulcinj," Vucurevic said.

Vucurevic said that officers of the Herzegovina Corps of the Serb Republic [of Bosnia-Herzegovina] had told him that the number of the Yugoslav Army soldiers in Konavli and Prevlaka had been reduced significantly.

He also added that, according to these reports, almost all of the military equipment has been packed and prepared for transport.

"However, they will not be allowed to do this," Vucurevic said.

SRNA reports that in response to the statement by General Damjanovic of the Yugoslav Army, Colonel Radovan Grubac, the commander of the Herzegovina Corps of the Serb Republic, said: "The withdrawal of the Yugoslav Army from Prevlaka and Konavli is a fait accompli."

**Serb Assembly President Claims Right To Join FRY**  
*LD2709050392 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1120 GMT 26 Sep 92*

[Text] Belgrade, 26 Sep (TANJUG)—In a statement to SRNA, Momcilo Krajisnik, president of the Serb Republic [of Bosnia-Herzegovina] Assembly has said that the Geneva meeting was the conference with the best results so far.

The Serb side, Krajisnik said, believe that the co-chairmen of the Conference on Yugoslavia, Cyrus Vance and Lord Owen, are impartial and that they accept the existence of the Serb Republic as a political reality. "All the arguments we presented to illustrate the fact that all further talks on a unitary Bosnia would be senseless were accepted and fully understood," Krajisnik said.

Commenting on the situation in the FRY, Krajisnik said that there are currently two lines of thought: One supports concessions, even though it is clear that all the concessions that have been made so far have produced no results, and the other is for the Serbs to stand up and to say that there will be no more compromises.

"The Serb Republic will support those who now clearly say: Serbs [in Bosnia] have the right to join Yugoslavia or to form an association of Serb states," Krajisnik stressed.

**Geneva Delegation Member Assesses Talks**  
*AU2609194892 Belgrade RTB Television Network in Serbo-Croatian 1730 GMT 26 Sep 92*

[Statement by Nikola Koljevic, member of the Serb Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina Presidency and member of the Serbian delegation to Geneva in Belgrade; place and date not given—recorded]

[Text] If one were to judge this last week according to the real results, then we would have to say that we are at the very beginning, that we have not moved far from the start, but I think that the style and approach of this conference is something that promises success.

When I say style and approach, I mean in the first place the fact that the whole world community has obviously decided to find a political solution through continuous work, which has not been the case so far. Second, the UN and the EC will mediate and insist on an urgent cessation of hostilities, and their seriousness can be seen in the mode of work, and third, which I think is very significant, this conference does not insist on setting any conditions or ultimatums for any side. The real situation is the starting point, this war and this war catastrophe as it is, and practical solutions are sought. There is no

insistence on just signing papers but rather to agree on very concrete ways to achieve the things proposed in the papers.

**Herceg-Bosnia Discusses Cooperation Agreement**  
*AU2509145292 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 25 Sep 92*

[Izudin Sahovic report from Mostar]

[Excerpt] The aggressor pounded a wide area in and around the center of Mostar with artillery on several occasions. The artillery of the Croatian Defense Council [HVO] responded very efficiently and the attacks stopped. Five civilians were wounded in these attacks but none of the defenders suffered.

Commenting on the signing of the annex to the friendship and cooperation agreement between the republics of Croatia and Bosnia-Herzegovina, Bozo Rajic, spokesman for the HVO Headquarters of the Croatian Community of Herceg-Bosnia, at today's news conference expressed satisfaction and emphasized that, in the opinion of military experts, coordination in joint defense means a more appropriate battle array of the defense forces. (The agreement) will help overcome some misunderstandings, and cooperation between the forces which are defending Bosnia-Herzegovina must exist if we want to win. I am convinced that we will now be much stronger and that the aggressor will soon feel this, Bozo Rajic said, at the same voicing his regret that such an agreement had not taken place much earlier. [passage omitted]

**UNPROFOR Leaves Positions in Bihac Area**  
*LD2509161192 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1306 GMT 25 Sep 92*

[Text] Korenica, 25 Sep (TANJUG)—UN Protection Force [UNPROFOR] members have left their positions near the Meljnovac watch tower situated along the border between the municipalities of Donji Lapac and Bihac, the information service of the special Lika police unit has announced. The report adds that it happened after yesterday's fighting between Serb and Muslim forces on the Bihac battlefield.

This unexpected move by UNPROFOR, the Lika police said, was prompted by an attempt by the Muslim formations to occupy strategically important points along the border between Lika and Bosnia. "The action by UNPROFOR members helped them achieve that," the Lika police added.

The UNPROFOR units accepted responsibility for the Lika part of Sector South in accordance with Cyrus Vance's peace plan.

**Tudjman, London Conference Cochairmen View Meeting***LD2609103992 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network  
in English 0805 GMT 26 Sep 92*

[Text] Following a meeting with the cochairmen of the London conference on former Yugoslavia, Cyrus Vance and Lord David Owen, Croatian President Dr Franjo Tudjman stated that: I informed the gentlemen that the Croatian parliament has passed legislation that pardons all those who have participated in the war against Croatia, but only those who have not committed crimes that come under the international war crimes act.

Dr. Tudjman also stated that it was agreed that UNPROFOR's [UN Protection Force] task should be gradually brought to fruition, such as the return of refugees to their homes, the reopening of roads, the return of full operation of the Peruca power plant, and the rebuilding of the (Moscenica) bridge. He continued: We have also agreed on the measures that will bring about a political solution in Bosnia-Herzegovina, with the aim of stopping the continued bloodshed there.

A little later at the same press release, Cyrus Vance stated that the people will be liberated from concentration camps in the Banja Luka area, but the question remains to be: When? The dates were determined earlier, but postponed because of certain events.

According to Lord Owen, Banja Luka had the reputation of a tolerant community of different nations, while also saying that people were concerned that the process of ethnic cleansing was about to start in the city itself. However, the two cochairmen did say that some of the rumors of ethnic cleansing were confirmed, calling them disturbing elements. They rejected the possibility that Serbs had tricked them. Vance added that there were indications that pointed to the recent killings of 200 Muslims in the towns surrounded by Serb extremists.

Answering the question as to whether the cochairmen were aware of the fact that the Banja Luka airport is being used by the Serbian Air Force for attacks on the territories of Bosnia-Herzegovina, Vance said that there is no doubt that this is being done and that the international community condemned such actions.

**HSP Protests Police Raid as 'Score-Settling'***LD2609180192 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network  
in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 26 Sep 92*

[Text] In connection with this morning's police raid on the Croatian Party of Justice [HSP] Headquarters on Starcevic Square in Zagreb, the HSP held a news conference at the nearby Esplanada Hotel. Kreso [name indistinct] reports:

[Correspondent] Party Chairman Dobrosav Paraga stressed during the news conference that the party's headquarters on Starcevic Square had been invaded. He assessed it as yet another case of score-settling with the

HSP and its chairman, adding that it was no accident that the invasion took place less than 24 hours after the proclamation by the Assembly of the law on abolition. It is obvious, he said, that the Croatian authorities did not like the speech by the HSP leader in the Assembly regarding this abolition. Now, he said, the authorities are using their strength against a legal and legitimate party and not against the chetniks.

He also said that the arms and ammunition found in the building on Starcevic Square are the property of the Croatian Defense Forces of Bosnia-Herzegovina, which is part of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Armed Forces.

Paraga was particularly bitter when he said that the police had no authority to search HSP documents. The party's legal representative, Hodak, stressed that the inspection and [word indistinct] of HSP documents were illegal, that the value of the arms found in the building did not exceed 5,000 German marks, and that the arrest of the guards—on suspicion that they were in possession of small arms—also was illegal. The lawyer claimed that the guards had a license to carry arms issued by the police.

[In a Zagreb-dated report, Belgrade TANJUG in English at 1430 GMT on 26 September adds: "Police in the former Yugoslav Republic of Croatia on Saturday morning uncovered large quantities of arms, ammunition, explosives and military equipment at the headquarters of the Croatian Party of Rights [Croatian Party of Justice] (HSP) in the republican capital Zagreb.

["Croatian Radio quotes Zdravko Zidovac and Josko Movic, assistants [words indistinct] to the Croatian interior minister, as saying that three anti-aircraft missiles, one 128-mm rocket launcher, one 'Andras' missile launcher, more than a dozen portable radio stations and documentation of the Croatian Defence Forces (HOS), the military wing of [word indistinct].

["HOS troops, who describe themselves as successors to Ustashi (Croatian fascists during World War Two) and bear their insignias, are actively engaged in fighting against the Serbs in the war-ravaged former Yugoslav Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina.

["The police raid took place in the presence of HSP leader Dobrosav Paraga. The seized arms and equipment are valued at about 500,000 Deutsche Marks.

["Croatian Radio said HSP officials did not resist the search of their premises."]

**Hadzic Urges Replacement of Belgian UN Troops***LD2509152892 Belgrade TANJUG in English  
1248 GMT 25 Sep 92*

[Text] Beli Manastir, September 25 (TANJUG)—The president of the Republic of Serbian Krajina (RSK), Goran Hadzic, on Friday [25 September] said he agreed with the idea that the withdrawal of the Belgian battalion of the U.N. Protection Force (UNPROFOR) from

Baranja, a region in the RSK, be requested as urgently as possible because of the troops' improper behaviour and the problems they make for the local authorities.

Hadzic said the Belgian battalion should be replaced with troops of some other country.

The request for the withdrawal of the Belgian UNPROFOR battalion was raised in a talk with Hadzic by Borivoje Zivanovic, the president of the Executive Council of Beli Manastir, the centre of Baranja.

The Republic of Serbian Krajina has been proclaimed by Serbs inside the administrative borders of the former Yugoslav Republic of Croatia in response to Croatia's secession from Yugoslavia and the attempt of Croatian authorities to reduce the status of Serbs in Croatia from that of a constituent people to a national minority. The Republic of Serbian Krajina comprises areas which are predominantly populated by Serbs.

The Republic of Serbian Krajina was placed under U.N. protection in spring last year, after clashes between Croatian forces, on one side, and the local Serbs and the former Yugoslav People's Army, on the other. Roughly 14,000 U.N. peace-keeping troops have been deployed in the Republic of Serbian Krajina.

Hadzic said the RSK authorities were ready to receive all refugees who want to return but under the conditions specified in the Vance peace plan.

Croatian authorities have said they will organize on September 30 a massive return of refugees to Baranja, which is UNPROFOR's Sector East under the Vance plan.

UNPROFOR director of civil affairs Cedric Thornberry on Thursday most sharply warned the Croatian authorities not to go ahead with the plan because it was premature.

In the talk with representatives of the local authorities in Beli Manastir, Hadzic said the ultimate goal of the battle fought by the Serbian people in the RSK was the creation of an alliance of Serbian states.

The Serbian Republic has been proclaimed inside the administrative borders of the war-torn former Yugoslav Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina (BiH) by the local Serbs who reject the creation of a unitary Muslim state. The Serbian Republic in BiH is also made up of areas predominantly populated by Serbs.

The governments of the RSK and the Serbian Republic in BiH decided at joint session in Banja Luka, the administrative centre of the Serbian Republic in BiH, on Thursday to call referendums on the unification of the two republics into a single state.

Hadzic said a conflict between Serbs, themselves, was something he wanted the least. "Still, everybody in Serbia who wants the Serbs in the RSK to remain in

Croatia is an ustasha, just as is Tudjman (Croatian president), and accounts should be settled with such people," Hadzic said.

### **Krajina Refuses To Allow Refugees Return**

AU2609161592

[Editorial Report] Belgrade Radio Beograd Network in Serbo-Croatian at 1300 GMT on 26 September carries in its regular 35-minute newscast two reports on the continuing unrest in Croatia.

Danko Peric reports from Knin that, in a protest letter sent to the UN Protection Force, UNPROFOR, Command in Zagreb, "the Ministry of Internal Affairs of the Serbian Krajina warns that yesterday and the day before two members of the Krajina police lost their lives." Peric says that one policeman was killed "in an artillery attack by the Muslim forces on the bordering areas of Banija."

According to Peric, this protest letter also claims that "in northern Dalmatia, the airport of Zemunik and the village of Smokovic near the airport came under intense fire," while "Croatian aircraft were noticed twice flying over Krajina airspace."

In his report from Baranja, Branislav Kostic says that "there can be no mass return of Croatian and Hungarian refugees to Baranja, as that would be in direct contradiction of Vance's peace plan and the UN principles." He says that "the Baranja people have been intimidated by the ominous statement by the Croatian leadership" to the effect that "unless UNPROFOR creates the conditions for the return of the refugees, Croatia will do it by force." Finally, he reports that "the Baranja people do not want another conflict and more destruction, but they are, they claim, ready to answer force with force."

### **Minister Anticipates Refugee Return for 30 Sep**

LD2809022292 Zagreb HTV Television  
in Serbo-Croatian 1830 GMT 27 Sep 92

[Excerpt] [Correspondent] What will happen on 30 September? Is the return of refugees going to begin on that date? Mr. Marko Kvesic, Croatian Government commissioner for the municipality of Beli Manastir, is in our studio in Osijek. Good evening.

[Kvesic] Good evening.

[Correspondent] Mr. Kvesic, is 30 September still on as the date when the return is to begin?

[Kvesic] Surely it is on. As regards phase one, we are completely prepared, nine local communities are prepared for the return. But first I would like to say, we have received reports about what has been happening on the other side, i.e. that mobilization is being carried out, that they are arming themselves and that tanks, armored personnel carriers are coming over the Batina bridge, which is surely complicating the conditions for our peaceful return as we have organized it. We asked

UNPROFOR [UN Protection Force] representatives to inform us by 29 September about the villages to which we should go, and I expect to get a letter to this effect by 29 September, and in accordance with that we will know how and in which way to proceed on 30 September.

[Correspondent] Did you hear threats by a certain Serb from Krajina who spoke in a Novi Sad TV program yesterday. What do you have to say about that?

[Kvesic] It is surely their attempt to boost the morale of their people, particularly those who immigrated there from western Slavonija. Because, simply, they are the force to fight, i.e. to prevent our return to Baranja. I am positive there will be many more such statements and encouraging those people who are there. [passage omitted]

#### **Police Report Migration From Serb Krajina**

LD2709201192 Belgrade TANJUG in English  
1421 GMT 27 Sep 92

[By Sava Jankovic]

[Text] Knin, September 27 (TANJUG)—Migration from the southern parts of the Republic of Serbian Krajina—the Benkovac, Obrovac and Knin municipalities is reaching disturbing numbers, judging from data given by the Knin police. It is impossible to determine the exact number of those who are leaving their homes because they do not register officially when they leave.

About 130 young people have left the Benkovac municipality within practically nine months of this year according to official data.

The same number of people have left the area of the Knin municipality. Women make up 70 percent of those leaving.

All these people are heading for Zemun, Ruma, Sid, Batajnica, Kikinda and other places in the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (Serbia and Montenegro), but many are also going abroad.

There is growing concern that depopulation threatens Krajina. The Republic of Serbian Krajina was proclaimed within the administrative borders of Croatia in territories where the Serbs are the majority population, as a reaction to the former Yugoslav Republic of Croatia's secession. United Nations Protection Force in Yugoslavia (UNPROFOR) forces have been stationed in these territories under Cyrus Vance's peace plan.

It is believed that the people are leaving the Republic of Serbian Krajina in search of jobs and social peace, and that most of them are young or middle-aged. Teachers, doctors and engineers are leaving, including businessmen, war profiteers and directors of various firms.

Those who do not wish to leave their homes are concerned and bitter over the departure of some of their "prominent fellow-citizens." These include some who were held to be fervent opponents of the new nationalist authorities in Croatia.

It is obvious, however, that the greatest number of those leaving come from border villages and settlements in the South Sector. The Knin police say that migration is strongest from the villages of Cetina [words indistinct] which are close to the so-called 'pink zone' and the hydro-electric power plant of Peruca. There is great anxiety in this area because of various interpretations over of who is supposed to control areas which were not initially included under Vance's plan.

Representatives of the authorities in the Republic of Serbian Krajina are not commenting on this phenomena, nor are there any official explanations for the intense migration from these territories.

**Rupel Terms U.S. Meeting 'Productive,' 'Positive'**

AU2509165292 Ljubljana Radio Slovenia Network  
in Slovene 1330 GMT 25 Sep 92

[Uros Lipuscek report]

[Excerpt] Before his speech to the UN General Assembly, Slovene President Milan Kucan yesterday met with UN Secretary General Butrus-Ghali and Bulgarian Foreign Minister Stoyan Ganev, president of this year's assembly session. According to President Kucan, the talks passed in an extremely pleasant atmosphere. In fact, the UN secretary general had hitherto been rather cool toward representatives of all the former Yugoslav republics. Butrus-Ghali was particularly interested in the Slovene assessment of the war in Bosnia-Herzegovina and the present situation in Serbia. They also discussed possibilities for resolving the grave refugee problem, as, according to the assessments of international humanitarian organizations, a new tragedy will take place in Bosnia-Herzegovina this winter.

Yesterday, President Kucan also discussed this issue with Alija Izetbegovic, president of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Presidency. Izetbegovic thanked the Slovenes for all the help they were offering the Bosnia-Herzegovina refugees. They also discussed various measures aimed at helping refugees who will, with international help, return to Bosnia-Herzegovina before winter. Izetbegovic also favored a program for the gradual return of the refugees as well as the revitalization of economic ties between the two countries.

A great part of the debate in yesterday's meeting between Slovene Foreign Minister Dr. Dimitrij Rupel and acting U.S. Secretary of State Lawrence Eagleburger was also dedicated to the refugee problem. He said that the United States will help Slovenia in resolving the refugee problem as part of an aid program for East European democracies. The U.S. secretary of state also stressed that in the view of the United States, real starvation will take place in Bosnia-Herzegovina this winter, especially if Sarajevo airport is not made to function before winter. According to the Slovene foreign minister, Eagleburger stated that among all the former Yugoslav republics, Slovenia is a priority country for the United States—that is to say, the United States would like to see Slovenia become an economically successful and democratic state. In Eagleburger's opinion, Slovenia, of all the former Yugoslav republics, stands the best chance of achieving this.

The U.S. secretary of state, among other things, also supported the Slovene request to be admitted into international financial institutions as quickly as possible. He proposed the formation of a free trade zone between the two states and announced a new allocation of textile import quotas for the territory of former Yugoslavia. He also welcomed our initiative to sign an agreement on preventing double taxation for companies and citizens of both states.

A special item of the discussion was cooperation in the sphere of defense. According to the Slovene foreign minister, the latest meeting with the acting U.S. secretary of state, who has so far directed the U.S. policy toward the territory of former Yugoslavia, was extremely productive and positive. [passage omitted]

**Ministers Rupel, Bavcar Discuss Border Disputes**

92BA1433A Ljubljana DNEVNIK in Slovene  
15 Sep 92 p 8

[Article by Toni Peric: "International Route for Access to the Sea?"—first paragraph is DNEVNIK introduction]

[Text] Ministers Dimitrij Rupel and Igor Bavcar on relations with Croatia; Slovenia will advocate the so-called Venetian maritime straits.

Koper, 15 Sep—In Dr. Dimitrij Rupel's opinion, in order to understand relations between Slovenia and Croatia, it is also necessary to keep in sight the fact that Slovenia is more or less willing and has proposed 24 different agreements to the Croatian side for signature. So far, the two states have only signed one agreement, on economic cooperation, which the Croatian Assembly has not ratified.

We heard this, among other things, last night at a press conference in Koper, in which Ministers Dimitrij Rupel and Igor Bavcar participated. Most of the opening statement, and also the reporters' questions, had to do with relations between Slovenia and Croatia, since relations with the other neighbor, Italy, "are not troubled or critical in any respect," Dr. Rupel said.

"We do not see any really major problems in relations with Croatia either; it is just that many issues have accumulated, the attempts to resolve which also began with the preparations for Dr. Tudjman's visit to Ljubljana," Dr. Rupel said. Then he outlined several of the main unresolved issues, and above all the issue of the border, which for Slovenia, as he stated, "is based on the designation of several starting points, especially with respect to the starting point for the designation of the maritime border."

Since the emergence of the two new states has left Slovenia without international waters, our republic, as the foreign minister stated, has also advocated internationalization of the issue of the borders between the states before the competent international forums. In this regard, he mentioned the possibility of international designation of the so-called "Venetian straits," since maritime straits are something that the modern world has been familiar with for a long time and is advantageously using to regulate relations between states, and it is precisely near Venice that the maritime distance (24 miles) separating the sea into two parts is without territorial waters. In this regard, Dr. Rupel recalled that the joint commission for regulating border issues had not even started to function.

We were particularly interested (we also asked Prime Minister Drnovsek the same thing) in how useful and successful the talks with Croatia will be now, when the preelection struggle has started in Slovenia and the parties will politicize these issues. Minister Rupel then instructed us that "the preelection struggle has not yet started in Slovenia and things are still peaceful, that it is necessary to talk continually with our neighbors, and that any talks are useful and necessary."

One of the reporters' questions was also about when the neighboring states would establish diplomatic relations. "On Wednesday Matija Malesic will present his credentials in Zagreb, and we have learned from Croatian representatives that Dr. Tomac cannot be their ambassador in Slovenia and that it will be someone else."

Minister Igor Bavcar recalled at last night's press conference that the Slovene side has noted 11 incidents on the 546 kilometers of the border with Croatia: two air space violations, eight territorial violations, and one incident at sea, and that the Foreign Ministry, in nine cases, had notified the Croatians about this through diplomatic channels.

After their visit to the coast last night both ministers left for a meeting in Trieste with government representatives from the Friuli-Giulia province.

#### **Socialist Party Nominates Presidential Candidate**

92BA1433B Ljubljana SLOVENE in Slovene  
14 Sep 92 p 3

[Interview with Socialist Party presidential candidate Darja Lavtizar-Bebler by "M.J.L."; place and date not given: "I Am Always Willing To Speak Openly About My Past"]

[Text] Ljubljana, 13 Sep—It seems that every party really will nominate its own candidate for the presidential elections. The SSS [Socialist Party of Slovenia] candidate is 42-year-old graduate lawyer and Socialist deputy Darja Lavtizar-Bebler. Among her biographical data, she has also written that in the past she has worked as a reporter, a professional associate, and a member of the presidency and executive committee of the former SZDL [Socialist Alliance of Working People]. She was also a member and volunteer secretary of Bavcon's Council for the Protection of Human Rights and Freedoms.

[M.J.L.] There are many candidates for president of the republic, and each of them is counting on his own constituency. On whom are you counting?

[Lavitizar-Bebler] I am counting on the voters who are inclined toward the values supported by the Socialist Party. Even according to professional polls, most Slovenes support values that could be classified as part of the left-central value orientation. I expect that those voters will vote for me who support a socially just society, a standard of living that is worthwhile and supports human dignity, and a West European outlook. Not least of all, I am also counting a great deal on women's votes.

[M.J.L.] Are you convinced that the Slovenes are a people who would want to have a female president instead of a male president of the republic?

[Lavitizar-Bebler] I am not convinced, but I hope so. The time for change has come here as well, and I think that this possibility should also be attempted. To comfort those who still have reservations about women in public office, I should state that it is a presidential term that is only five years long.

In any case, anyone who is familiar with my efforts in politics and in private life knows that I have never been a feminist. These things are not only alien to me, but in many cases also unpleasant, and that is why I do not want to stress my gender in particular.

[M.J.L.] Are you also willing to talk about your past during the campaign if you are challenged with it?

[Lavitizar-Bebler] Yes, I am always willing to talk about it, and also about why I did not vote for the UDBA [State Security Administration] amendment, even though members of my family have also had regrettable experiences. My uncle was beaten to death by a certain UDBA officer. Even today, people are appearing who inform my father of that person's address and name. I think, however, that these are things that have been superseded, and I do not want to revive them. I hope that the person who did that has enough troubles of his own. I consider our experience a strong enough argument for me to oppose the scrutiny being demanded. I am oriented toward the future. I am interested in how my family, my children, and Slovene citizens in general will live in the future.

## International

### Britain's Hogg Addresses EC Committee on FRY

LD2709193092 Belgrade TANJUG in English  
1542 GMT 27 Sep 92

[Text] Brussels, September 27 (TANJUG)—Great Britain, as the country which currently chairs the European Community, will not permit in the case of the Yugoslav crisis any change of the existing borders and will do everything to put a stop to "ethnic-cleansing." British Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs Douglas Hogg said at a closed-door session of the European Parliament's Foreign Policy and Security Committee in Brussels last Wednesday.

According to what was subsequently published in the European Parliament's bulletin about the session, Hogg assured the parliament members that the Yugoslav crisis was the chief concern of the E.C. Council of Ministers. He lent support to the efforts made to provide humanitarian aid and upheld the calls for even stiffer sanctions against the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia i.e. its Republics Serbia and Montenegro.

The British diplomat unequivocally let it be known that the U.N. peace-keeping troops would not be withdrawn from the former Yugoslav Republic of Croatia, as urged by the Croatian authorities, and expressed concern over all the things which could happen if the troops were to be withdrawn.

Hogg said the idea of placing the war-torn former Yugoslav Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina under international control would require an excessively massive military intervention. He said the case would be very much the same with the introduction of a no-fly zone over Bosnia-Herzegovina, which Hogg said would entail the risk of involvement and would place in question even more the security of the U.N. peace-keeping troops.

The issue of Serbia's Province of Kosovo was also discussed at the closed-door session. Kosovo's ethnic Albanians were clearly told they could not count on a "separate state." Hogg said the ethnic Albanians in Kosovo must get back the Constitution which was in effect before Serbia's President Slobodan Milosevic took office.

### Swiss Decide To Stop Sending Pension Funds

AU2809122892 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina  
Network in Serbo-Croatian 1100 GMT 28 Sep 92

[Text] The Swiss Federal Bureau of Social Security has decided to stop sending pensions to people residing in Serbia, Montenegro, Bosnia-Herzegovina, and Macedonia. The Bureau reports that in the last few months these pensions were not paid out to the recipients but were obviously used to purchase arms.

Swiss pensions will continue to be paid out normally in Croatia and Slovenia, as, it was stated, the post offices and banks are working without any problems there.

## Federal

### Panic Asks Security Council To Ease Sanctions

LD2609172292 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service  
in Serbo-Croatian 1436 GMT 26 Sep 92

[Excerpt] Washington, 26 Sep (TANJUG)—Prime Minister Panic's government has asked the UN Security Council to adopt a decision as soon as possible before the onset of winter on the partial lifting of sanctions against Yugoslavia in order to ease their serious consequences on the people's day-to-day life. TANJUG has learned from reliable sources in Washington that the federal prime minister has sent a letter to the Security Council president requesting the UN Committee for Sanctions to allow the import of sufficient quantities of fuel for heating and other necessary goods that fall in the purely humanitarian category. The letter, signed by Milan Panic himself, says—as has been learned—that prolonging and increasing the sanctions will have grave consequences for the educational, cultural, scientific, and athletic development of an entire generation of Yugoslavs.

The letter also asks that the possibility of lifting the blockade on road and air traffic, which affects innocent people, be discussed. Panic adds that this also would facilitate the communication and participation of representatives of the Yugoslav Government in the peace talks in Geneva. [passage omitted]

### Army Denies Withdrawal From Prevlaka

LD2709194492 Belgrade TANJUG in English  
1620 GMT 27 Sep 92

[Text] Herceg-Novi, Sept. 27 (TANJUG)—Yugoslav Army Major-General Radomir Damjanovic on Sunday [27 September] firmly refuted the report that Yugoslav troops have begun pulling out of the Prevlaka Peninsula and the area of Konavle on the border between Croatia and Montenegro (Yugoslavia).

Gen. Damjanovic is the deputy commander of the Second Army of the Military Forces of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (F.R.Y.), headquartered in Podgorica, the capital of the Yugoslav Republic of Montenegro.

Gen. Damjanovic described as a fabrication the report, front-paged by the daily VECERNJE NOVOSTI on Sunday [27 September].

Prevlaka is a peninsula at the entrance to the Bay of Kotor which runs deep into the Montenegrin Adriatic littoral and where the F.R.Y. Navy is based. Konavle is an area to the north, in the hinterland of Dubrovnik, on the Croatian littoral.

"Not one of our soldiers has withdrawn from Konavle, Cilipi (the airport for Dubrovnik and Herceg-Novi) and Prevlaka, they are all where they were 20 days ago and where they have been for months," said Gen. Damjanovic in a Radio Herceg-Novi programme.

VECERNJE NOVOSTI wrote that "first groups of Yugoslav Army soldiers have started pulling out of Prevlaka and Konavle on Saturday. Military sources in Hercegovina are silent about it, as different from civilian authorities."

F.R.Y. President Dobrica Cosic and Prime Minister Milan Panic, with the consent of the Montenegrin Presidency, have agreed in principle with the co-chairmen of the Geneva-based Conference on Yugoslavia, Cyrus Vance and Lord Owen, that Prevlaka, which was within the administrative boundaries of Croatia at the outbreak of Croatia's war of secession from Yugoslavia in the spring of 1991, should be demilitarized and placed under U.N. control.

**Cosic Promises "Full Cooperation" With Vance, Owen**  
*LD2509141792 Belgrade TANJUG in English*  
*2327 GMT 24 Sep 92*

[Text] Geneva, September 24 (TANJUG)—Yugoslav President Dobrica Cosic has "promised full cooperation" to Cyrus Vance and Lord Owen so as to "come to the core" of the situation in Banja Luka, a town in north-western parts of the war-torn former Yugoslav Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina. Fred Eckhard, spokesman for the two co-chairmen of the Yugoslavia conference, said on Thursday [24 September].

Vance and Lord Owen will on Friday visit Banja Luka, the administrative centre of Bosnian Krajina, a region within the Serb Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina, to investigate on the spot reports about fresh inter-ethnic conflicts in that part of Bosnia-Hercegovina.

Eckhard also said that Bosnian Serb leader Radovan Karadzic had promised to "personally investigate the situation."

Vance and Lord Owen released a statement in which they expressed "deep concern over reports indicating a growing tension in the region of Banja Luka."

In their view, the tension is the result of a bombing incident, threats of violence and continuing ethnic cleansing campaign.

Nikola Koljevic, a member of the delegation of Bosnian Serbs at the Geneva talks on Bosnia-Hercegovina, praised Vance's and Lord Owen's decision to travel to Banja Luka, adding that it was a step which might remove possible disagreements.

Following reports about tension in the Banja Luka region, Koljevic said that it resulted from a "desperate attempt to continue war and create chaos in order to show that the authority in the Serb Republic does not function normally."

"It is a lie that the serb authorities in Prijedor and Trnopolje are forcing Moslems to leave those territories. The truth is quite the opposite: Those who had requested through the Red Cross to move out of the area have been asked to wait until the Geneva conference has taken a full swing," said Koljevic.

He said that, after the killing of about 150 Serbs in the nearby town of Kotor Varos, Moslems in Banja Luka organized themselves.

According to a report, Izetbegovic's associate Behmen tried to organize a kind of a Moslem rebellion or unrests in Banja Luka, said Koljevic.

Three-men combat groups are being organized and 850 people have already been armed, he said, and added that they also had training centres near Banja Luka.

"The most deplorable and morbid thing in this is that their arming and preparations for chaos were organized through the Moslem charity Merhamet," said Koljevic.

**Official Says War Criminals Will Be Prosecuted**  
*LD2609201392 Belgrade TANJUG in English*  
*1846 GMT 26 Sep 92*

[Text] Belgrade, Sept. 26 (TANJUG)—Yugoslav Deputy Minister of Human and Minority Rights Konstantin Obradovic on Saturday [26 September] said that war criminals on all sides to the Yugoslav conflict would not escape punishment.

There is no need for a U.N. resolution on this matter, because all states have undertaken to prosecute war criminals and perpetrators of crimes against humanity, said Obradovic at a round-table discussion in Belgrade on the war in former Yugoslavia and human rights violations.

Earlier this week, the United States tabled before the U.N. Security Council a draft resolution calling for setting up a commission to investigate war crimes in the former Yugoslav Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina which has for more than five months been in the grip of a fierce ethnic and civil war between the local Serbs, on the one [word indistinct, and a fragile moslem-croat coalition, on the other.

According to some estimates, 10,000 people have been killed in the fighting, in which tens of thousands of both regular and irregular troops of neighbouring Croatia, as well as mercenaries from abroad, are involved.

Obradovic said that the state made a mistake when it failed, at the very outbreak of the fighting in the defunct federation, in the spring of 1991, to set up a military investigative body in each combat unit of the Yugoslav People's Army (JNA) to interrogate and record the testimonies of all suspects. Such bodies are mandatory under 1988 JNA regulations and every commanding officer has the duty to prevent violations of the Geneva Conventions, he said.

Vice-president of the Serbian Liberal Party Vladan Vasilijevic, an expert on international law and criminology, contested the view held by some that the position of accountability should be raised only after the war. He said that even in World War Two, it was agreed very early on, in 1941, that criminals must be strictly punished.

#### Foreign Minister Meets Counterparts in New York

LD2509140592 Belgrade TANJUG in English  
0759 GMT 25 Sep 92

[Text] New York, Sept 25 (TANJUG)—Yugoslav Foreign Minister Ilija Djukic and Yugoslav Ambassador to the U.N. Dragomir Djokic met with the foreign ministers of Spain, France and Turkey in New York on Thursday [24 September] to discuss the situation in the former Yugoslav Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina.

Djukic and Djokic said the Government of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia would accept any agreement on Bosnia-Herzegovina's organization, reached between the republic's three constitutional peoples (Moslems, Serbs and Croats).

The F.R. Yugoslavia wants to put an end to untruths, according to which the planes allegedly raiding the targets in Bosnia-Herzegovina are taking off from Yugoslav airports, the two Yugoslav officials said.

The F.R. Yugoslavia has for long been awaiting a reply to its proposals to the U.N. to deploy monitors at Yugoslav airfields and along the Yugoslav borders with Bosnia-Herzegovina and the former Yugoslav Republic of Croatia, Djukic and Djokic added.

Turkish Foreign Minister Hikmet Cetin conveyed Ankara's stand that the conflict in Bosnia-Herzegovina was not a religious war and should not be treated as such.

The Yugoslav representatives said all the sides in the conflict should be urged to establish peace. They welcomed Ankara's proposal to send humanitarian aid to Bosnia-Herzegovina and F.R. Yugoslavia.

Commenting Yugoslavia's status in the U.N., French Foreign Minister Roland Dumas said Yugoslavia was not excluded from the world organization. The Yugoslav flag, name and mission remained in the U.N., said Dumas.

However, he added, Yugoslavia should apply for admission and its application will be examined according to the criteria valid also for the other former Yugoslav republics.

The F.R. Yugoslavia is already fulfilling most of the criteria and can meet the rest of them without difficulties, said Dumas.

On Tuesday, the U.N. General assembly excluded the F.R. Yugoslavia from its work, and Yugoslav prime minister asked for the F.R. Yugoslavia's admission to the U.N. the same day.

The French and Spanish foreign ministers said their countries did not support ethnic Albanians' demands for self-determination in the Serbian Province of Kosovo, but called for a developed autonomy.

Djukic and Djokic stressed that the government in Belgrade was committed to continue the dialogue which was to lead to the development of the minority rights.

A separatist movement of ethnic Albanians is active in Kosovo, calling for the province to be given the status of a republic and then secede from Serbia and the F.R. Yugoslavia.

The three foreign ministers promised they would see to it that Yugoslavia's request for the import of oil for the needs of schools, hospitals and similar institutions be exempted from the U.N. embargo against Yugoslavia.

#### Trade Minister Comments on Inflation Policy

LD2709195392 Belgrade TANJUG in English  
1712 GMT 27 Sep 92

[Text] Belgrade, Sept 27 (TANJUG)—The Yugoslav Government cannot come to grips with inflation before the international community has lifted U.N.-imposed economic sanctions, said Yugoslav Minister of Trade Branko Maricic in an interview to TANJUG on Sunday [27 September].

Economists project an inflation rate of 30,000 percent in the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (F.R.Y.) this year.

Inflation cannot be lowered without foreign financial support, which Yugoslavia cannot expect because of the economic sanctions, said Maricic.

The first priorities of the government are, therefore, "lifting of the blockade, further democratization of society and a comprehensive economic and anti-inflationary programme," said Maricic.

The U.N. Security Council clamped an economic and political blockade on Yugoslavia on May 30.

Three years ago, Yugoslavia had managed to bring a three-digit monthly inflation down to one-digit inflation in something like six months, he said.

At that time, a liberalization of trade made for a healthy competition between imported and domestic goods. However, it is a different problem if four billion dollars should have been spent on this, said Maricic.

Now, however, imported consumer goods account for barely five percent of the goods in the stores. The present priorities are fuel, medicine, spare parts for machinery, veterinary preparations....

The lifting of the sanctions and the adoption of anti-inflationary measures should be followed by a restructuring of the economy and the banks. It would be usual to start with the banks, but that course of action would have to be approved by the Governments of Serbia and Montenegro (which form the F.R.Y.), said Maricic.

In economic terms, this year will be marked by hyperinflation, a reduction by one-fifth of supply and a halving of demand, an exhausted industrial production and imports slashed by one-third, said Maricic.

### Minister Urges Compromise in Geneva

92BA1420A Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian  
9 Sep 92 p 3

[Article including discussion with Dr. Ljubisa Rakic, minister without portfolio in the Yugoslav Government, by Nebojsa Curcic; place and date not given: "Admit Mistakes and Rejoin the World"]

[Text] "Yes, we did make a compromise in London. It does appear detrimental to our abstract national interests. But our national interests do not come to an end today. They endure for centuries and millennia, and we must recognize them. What would happen if we were to be decimated in this war? What kind of Serbia would it be without Serbs? What kind of national interest is it when half the people are killed? Every senseless death is a destruction of the biological being of the people, and that is a betrayal of the national interest. Living people represent that interest." These words were uttered yesterday in an interview for POLITIKA by Dr. Ljubisa Rakic, professor and minister without portfolio in the government of Prime Minister Milan Panic, recently appointed coordinator of the Yugoslav groups of experts taking part in the peace conference in Geneva.

### Success in London

The preparations for departure of our experts to Switzerland provided the occasion for this conversation, but Dr. Rakic felt it necessary to clarify certain lingering questions concerning the London meeting.

In his opinion, and this has been demonstrated by the parliamentary debate, the Yugoslav delegation achieved a success in London. However, the government of which he is a member does not consider success the most important thing.

"Much more important are the obligations that we assumed, which we will discharge as a realistic government."

Rakic recalls that our delegation came back from the previous meetings in Brussels and The Hague and assured the people of the "great success achieved."

"The results of those talks were increasingly disastrous, the country headed deeper and deeper into crisis, and the ultimate result was isolation and the sanctions. And many of those people who participated in The Hague

and Brussels and indeed even in London are now attacking the London decisions."

Ljubisa Rakic believes that by contrast with Brussels and The Hague, "where positional warfare was waged, each side said its piece, and there was no backing off. The London meeting represented a qualitative step forward because the international community clearly stipulated that everyone must make concessions if we are to extricate ourselves politically from the blockade and return to the world community."

The essential thing, in Dr. Rakic's opinion, is that this time no Balkan trick and no deception is going to work, as it did in the past, when we signed and promised something and then did exactly the opposite.

"We have a duty as a government to inform the citizens of the grievous truth about our country's position. If we are to get out of this situation and avoid disaster, we must meet all the resolutions and discharge all the obligations that we assumed in London with the full agreement of our representatives. Here, we must put our cards on the table, with no lies, false dilemmas, or the little Balkan deceptions of petty politicians if we desire good for our people."

One hears criticism that our representatives in London could have obtained more.

"Under the present conditions, under the enormous pressure of the international community, given the mistakes of our propaganda, which in the previous period lost the media war, I think the maximum was achieved."

Dr. Rakic believes that anything else is deception and that a different position of the Yugoslav delegation in London would have brought only "more difficult isolation, misery, ghettoization, war, and utter catastrophe."

"There is no alternative to peace."

In the words of Minister Rakic, up to now Yugoslav propaganda in the world has come down only to defense ("because supposedly everyone hates us") and they search futilely for rays of hope and support.

"The 12 points of the London agreement obligate all participants in the Yugoslav crisis to move step by step toward one another. The world told us: You have to find a solution, and this time there will be no compromise if we go back on what we agree."

### The Pressure of the Sanctions

But we are still subject to the sanctions, and their pressure threatens to divert many things from negotiation toward radical solutions. Are you sensitive to that risk?

"Fulfilling the London resolutions and a sincere posture in Geneva will help us to loosen the noose around our neck. I believe that our citizens accept those decisions in London because they feel the blockade has brought the

most difficulties. Realization of what we find means that Yugoslavia has entered upon the path of removal of the sanctions, emergence from the blockade, and return to the world, to order, to work, to renewal of democracy and liberation from the entire former Titoist order. It also means a weakening of forces inclined toward radical moves."

Rakic says that it is extremely erroneous for certain high officials to speak of "measures to adjust to the sanctions."

He also opposes the argument expressed in the federal parliament "to the effect that the Serbs are sufficient unto themselves and can live even in isolation."

"Do the leading people of this country, including those who sit in parliament, have the right to speak in the name of the entire people without asking that people? Can we decide a question of war and peace when we are age 60 or more without asking those who are in their twenties and thirties who would have to shed their blood in that war? This is an essential issue of whether the youth of Yugoslavia would consent to relish in certain abstract national lies of the barroom and remain in the darkness? I believe that it would not. Better to recognize certain mistakes and start out on the right road. Compromise is always better."

What you are saying does not square with certain statements made not so long ago that we will not join Europe as peons and lackeys.

"Those are literary expressions: lifted brow, lackeys, peons. We cannot take our values as exclusive and absolute. We have to compare them to the values of others and find universal values. Any isolated position is an ultimatum. If we want the good of our people, we have to act in agreement with the world!"

As the coordinator of the Yugoslav side, how do you see that meeting in Geneva?

"I am responsible to serve as liaison between the government and the group of experts. The experts will seek solutions in groups and will do so from the standpoint of the truth and the country's interest. Then they will offer general conclusions, and the government will submit a proposal which leads toward final solutions. How long will that take? Do not hold me to my word, but I think that solutions to the most important problems will be reached by the end of the year."

[Box, p 3]

#### No Mechanical Union

"I do not want to comment on the actions of certain members of the expert group from Serbia, because I do not know all the reasons. They were not removed. The ultimatum put by the former Serbian delegation is incomprehensible to me, especially because their work was not canceled, but precisely the opposite, highly respected.

"However, the new Yugoslavia is not a mechanical union of Serbia and Montenegro, but a federal state. This is a state

that has a new government with powers that are not of the confederal type. It has the right to choose the people for the meeting in Geneva. What is more, of the 13 members of the old group of experts of Serbia and Montenegro we took eight, and a ninth, Oskar Kovac, was unable to participate in the work of the Geneva meeting because he was too busy. So, there has been no dismissal of experts from the earlier groups at all," Ljubisa Rakic said.

#### Serbia

##### Opposition Leader on Need for Elections

LD2509170192 Belgrade TANJUG in English  
1112 GMT 25 Sep 92

[Text] Belgrade, Sept 25 (TANJUG)—Serbian opposition leader Mihailo Markovic has said that the democratic and equal elections in the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (F.R.Y.) and Serbia are absolutely necessary as a precondition for the international recognition of the F.R.Y. and the lifting of the United Nations-imposed sanctions on this country.

Assessing that the announced elections are "decisive for the future of the state and the nation," Markovic—who is one of the leaders of the Serbian Renewal Movement (SPO) and deputy of this strongest opposition party in Serbian parliament—pointed out in an interview carried on Friday [25 September] in the Belgrade NIN weekly that for this reason the elections "must be under international control."

Stressing that the elections must take place under secured democratic conditions or else, Markovic believed, "no one in his right mind, within the opposition, will accept any minor last-minute concession and run at the elections."

As for Yugoslav Prime Minister Milan Panic's applying the F.R.Y. to U.N. membership—the move that has been upheld as well as opposed in the country—Markovic said that the application was "logical and politically realistic."

Markovic held it against President Slobodan Milosevic of Serbia and "his regime" that they have for months kept convincing the general public in Europe and the world that Yugoslavia does exist, whereas they should—at the previous conference on Yugoslavia in Brussels and the Hague—have accepted the fact that there is no Yugoslavia. Instead, he said, they should have formed a new state "which would then be accepted as a heir to the previous state."

"Had they done this, there would have been no war, nor as much misery. Now, however, arguments have become scarce for the thesis on continuity," said Markovic.

In acknowledging Panic for "having proved that he is man of honour and responsibility," who sees the situation realistically, Markovic singled out Panic's public statement that the world was reacting to the Serbian regime's policy rather than pursuing an all-out conspiracy against Serbia.

Commenting on the Federal Assembly's possible another vote of no confidence in Panic, Markovic asserted that "Serbia's power-holders," as he called them, were not to try to replace him because he did not turn away much from what they had already accepted or signed, and because they were tossing all their defeats to Panic for shock-absorption.

"Serbian power-holders accept all conditions, but verbally they dissociate themselves from Panic, since, for God's sake, they are against, but they are unable, they would do that differently. The problem is that differently it cannot be done, and they are well aware of that," underscored Markovic.

### Three Ministers Submit Resignations 23 Sep

LD2509092192 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1051 GMT 23 Sep 92

[Text] Belgrade, 23 Sep (TANJUG)—Three ministers from the republican government today tendered their resignations to the Serbian Assembly.

Jovan Zebic, deputy premier and minister of finance, asked the Assembly to relieve him of his ministerial duties in order to "enable him to devote himself more fully to his duties as deputy premier."

Nikola Sainovic, who also held two positions—deputy premier and minister of mining and energy—asks to be relieved of duty because he was recently appointed federal minister of economy.

Dragan Kicanovic, minister of youth and sport, has also tendered his resignation. In his explanation, he stressed that he was unable to influence "the latest events which have had an extremely bad impact on sport in Serbia."

The vacant posts are expected to be filled tomorrow.

### Kosovo

#### Albanian Leader Welcomes Expulsion From UN

LD2509132992 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1019 GMT 25 Sep 92

[Text] Pristina, 25 Sep (TANJUG)—Ibrahim Rugova, chairman of the Democratic Alliance of Kosovo (DSK), has welcomed the UN General Assembly decision to expel Yugoslavia, assessing that Yugoslavia's readmission to this organization will be quite difficult because Yugoslavia will have to meet many conditions.

At a news conference, he thanked Alija Izetbegovic for advocating that Kosovo be recognized as having the status of a republic, and reiterated the stance that of several solutions for Kosovo, Albanians accept only that which "advocates independence and neutrality for Kosovo."

Ibrahim Rugova added that the Albanians will probably not participate in elections in Yugoslavia. Regarding Panic's 14-point proposal about the resolution of the Albanian language education, Rugova said that the proposal is discriminatory and, as such, is unacceptable. He announced that the Albanian side will soon submit its proposal about the solution to the problem of Albanian language education and repeated that everything will be done so that Albanian students can be taught in, as he put it, their schools and faculties.

### Chancellor, Deputy Appointed at University

LD2509142592 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1214 GMT 25 Sep 92

[Excerpt] Pristina, 25 Sep (TANJUG)—The Council of Pristina University today elected the leadership of this educational and scientific institution. Professor Dr. Radi-voje Papovic was reelected university chancellor, Professor Dr. Ljubomir Scepanovic and Professor Dr. Stanoje Dogandzic were elected university vice chancellors.

At a constituent session of the university council, Professor Dr. Milos Simovic was elected council chairman while lawyer Ranko Djokic was reelected the university's secretary general.

The ceremony was attested by Serbian Government ministers Dr. Danilo Markovic, Milivoje Pavlovic, and Miodrag Djukic, representatives of Nis University, representatives of local authorities, and managers of a number of enterprises in Kosovo and Metohija. Particularly welcome was the presence of a representative of Athens college Rigas of Fera with which Pristina University recently signed a cooperation agreement. [passage omitted]

### Macedonia

#### Albanians Protest Police 'Punitive' Expedition

AU2609174092 Tirana Radio Tirana Network in Albanian 1330 GMT 26 Sep 92

[Text] Through a petition, 5,056 Albanians from Struge Commune have raised their voice in protest against the punitive and unprincipled policy of the Macedonian Government. This petition expresses their conviction that Kadri Llabonishti and others convicted in the concocted trial of Oher are innocent, and as such they demand their immediate release.

We condemn the barbarous actions by the Macedonian Interior Ministry on the occasion of the police punitive expedition in Ladorishti village, in which legal proceedings were initiated against a group of innocent Albanians from this village, who were later convicted.

The petition was sent to the Macedonian Parliament, the Albanian parliamentary group, the headquarters of the Popular Democratic Party in Tetovo, and its branch in Struge.